This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

CP 26. 10

~~KF 686~~

CP 26.10

Bigelow. 14. 48.

Rec'd June 30 to Nov. 2, 1847.

37-247
9-2

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

VOLUME XLIII.

FOURTH SERIES, VOLUME VIII.

JULY, SEPTEMBER, NOVEMBER, 1847.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM CROSBY.
NEW YORK: C. S. FRANCIS & CO.
LONDON: JOHN CHAPMAN, 121 NEWGATE STREET.
1847.

CP.26.10

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

CP26.10

CAMBRIDGE:
METCALF AND COMPANY,
PRINTERS TO THE UNIVERSITY.

37.24.7
9.8

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE		PAGE
I.	JOHN WESLEY	1
	1. The Life of Wesley; and Rise and Progress of Methodism. By Robert Southey.	
	2. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A. Collected from his Private Papers and Printed Works; and written at the Request of his Executors, etc. By John Whitehead.	
	3. The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M. By Richard Watson.	
II.	ON THE NEGLECT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER	20
III.	NATURE AND CHRISTIANITY	31
	[A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, May 12, 1847. By Rev. William H. Furness.]	
IV.	DR. PAYSON AND HIS WRITINGS	52
	Memoir, Select Thoughts, and Sermons of the late Rev. Edward Payson, D. D. Compiled by Rev. Asa Cummings.	
V.	RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE TIMES	80
VI.	MARTIN LUTHER	98
	The Life of Martin Luther. Gathered from his own Writings. By M. Michelet.	
VII.	THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS	118
	The American Loyalists, or Biographical Sketches of the Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution; alphabetically arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay. By Lorenzo Sabine.	

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Norton's Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels, Second Edition. — Additions made in the Second Edition, etc. 138
Defence of Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, ... 139
Felton's Agamemnon of Æschylus, ... 140
Hymns for Christian Devotion, ... 143
Jenks's Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer, 144

CP 26. 10

~~KF 686~~

GP. 26.10

Bibliography. 14. 48.

Rec. June 30 to
Nov. 2,
1847.

37.24.7
9-2

7. White Slavery in the Barbary States. A Lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association. By Charles Sumner.

VII. The Late Thomas Gray, D. D. 248
"Gathered to his People." A Sermon Preached in the Congregational Church on Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, Saturday, June 5th, 1847, at the Funeral of Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D. By N. L. Frothingham.

VIII. Prescott's Conquest of Peru 253
History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas. By William H. Prescott.

IX. Rev. William B. O. Peabody 269
A Discourse, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. William B. O. Peabody, D. D., in Springfield, June 1, 1847. By Ezra S. Gannett.

X. The Catacombs and the Church of Rome . . . 276
1. The Church in the Catacombs: a Description of the Primitive Church of Rome, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains. By Charles Maitland.
2. Rome, Pagan and Papal. By an English Resident in that City.

Note to Art. IV. 289

Notices of Recent Publications.
Dewey's Discourses, ... 298
Haldane's Exposition of Romans, ... 299
Gregg's Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters, . . . 301
Channing's Conversations in Rome, } 302
Butler's Year of Consolation, }
Characteristics of Men of Genius, ... 304
Green's Discourses, ... 304
Sadler's Silent Pastor, ... 305
Crowell's Church Member's Manual, ... 305
Mann's Annals of Dedham, ... 306
Calvert's Poems, ... 306
Beckwith's Peace Manual, ... 306
Child's Memoirs, etc., ... 306
Thom's Sermon on Ireland, — Thom's Sermon on Rev. J. Johns, — Kell's Discourse on Education for the Ministry, — Furness's Derby Lecture, — Furness's Discourse at Cambridgeport, — Stone's Sermon on Hereditary Depravity, — Lunt's Artillery Election Sermon, — Briggs's Fourth of July Sermons, — Stebbins's Ordination Sermon, — Cary's Oration, — Munch's Treatise, ... 307

Intelligence.
Religious Intelligence. — Ecclesiastical Record, — Meadville Theological School, — Cambridge Divinity School, — Ordinations and Installations, — Dedication, . . . 311
Literary Intelligence. — Harvard University, — New England Colleges, ... 315

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE		PAGE
I.	MADAME GUYON . . . . . Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Motte Guyon; together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fenelon. By Thomas C. Upham.	317
II.	CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF INTEREST IN CRITICAL THEOLOGY . . . . . [An Address, delivered before the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School," July 16, 1847. By George R. Noyes, D. D.]	325
III.	EVELYN'S LIFE OF MRS. GODOLPHIN . . . . . The Life of Mrs. Godolphin. By John Evelyn.	344
IV.	ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT . . . . . 1. Report in Favor of the Abolition of the Punishment of Death by Law, made to the Legislature of New York. By John L. O'Sullivan. 2. An Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment, with special Reference to the Penalty of Death. By Tayler Lewis, Esq. And a Defence of Capital Punishment. By Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D. . Essays on the Punishment of Death. By Charles Spear. 4. Thoughts on the Death-Penalty. By Charles C. Burleigh. 5. Dissertation on Capital Punishment. By S. S. Schmücker, D. D. 6. Argument of Benjamin F. Porter, in Support of a Bill to abrogate the Punishment of Death, in the Alabama House of Representatives, 1847. 7. Argument of Edward Livingston against Capital Punishment. 8. Third Annual Address before the New York State Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment. 9. Report of a Select Committee on the Abolition of Capital Punishment. State of New York.	355
V.	EDWARDS AND THE REVIVALISTS	374
VI.	GERMANY, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL . . . . . 1. The German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century. By the German Correspondent of "The Continental Echo." 2. Die Throne im Himmel und auf Erden (The Thrones in Heaven and on Earth). By Pastor Uhlich. 3. Die Kirchliche Bewegung der Gegenwart (The Ecclesiastical Agitation of the Present). By Dr. Grossman.	394

4. Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung : January, 1845. Art. The Political Condition of Prussia.
5. Revue des Deux Mondes : Octobre, 1845. Art. History of the Religious Agitation in Germany, etc.
6. Vorträge vor Protestantischen Freunden, etc. (Addresses before Protestant Friends at Magdeburg upon the Reformation-festival.)
7. The Progress and Prospects of Germany. A Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University. By Henry Wheaton.

VII. TORREY'S TRANSLATION OF NEANDER 427
General History of the Christian Religion and Church ; from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the Second and Improved Edition. By Joseph Torrey.

VIII. BUSHNELL ON CHRISTIAN NURTURE 435
1. Discourses on Christian Nurture. By Horace Bushnell.
2. An Argument for "Discourses on Christian Nurture," addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. By Horace Bushnell.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.
Davis's Principles of Nature, ... 452
Quincy's Journals of Shaw, ... 455
Sutton's Evangel of Love, ... 456
Worcester's Comprehensive Dictionary, ... 457
Voyage of the Jamestown, ... 458
Prophecy of the Santon, ... 458
Hosmer's Months, ... 459
Kirkland's Dymond's Morality, ... 459
Reid's Woman, ... 460
Chapman's Hertz's Drama, ... 460
Andersen's True Story of My Life, ... 461
Mary Anna, ... 461
The Sick Chamber, ... 461
The Parables of our Lord, ... 462
Sharp's Discourses, and Sprague's Discourse, on Chalmers, — May's Discourse before the Cambridge Theological School, — Muzzey's Discourse on the Death of L. M. Stone, — Bartol's Ordination Sermon, — Fosdick's Anniversary and Farewell Sermons, — Tracts of American Unitarian Association, — Ware's Medical Discourses, — Marsh's Phi Beta Kappa Discourse, — Gay's Statement of the Claims of C. T. Jackson, etc., — Brown on the Effects of Ethereal Inhalation, — Remarks on Harvard Triennial, ... 462

INTELLIGENCE.
Religious Intelligence. — Ecclesiastical Record, — Autumnal Convention, — American Unitarian Association, — Ordinations and Installations, ... 465
Obituary. — Rev. M. A. H. Niles, — B. Merrill, Esq., — Hon. J. G. Kendall, ... 471

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JULY, 1847.

Art. I. — JOHN WESLEY.*

The eighteenth century, rife as it was in doubters and deniers, had its hearts of faith and tongues of fire. The assailants of Christianity were, indeed, more than met by its intellectual champions. In point of scholarship, science, and philosophy, faith bore the palm in the desperate struggle. Gibbon wrought no harm to Lardner, nor Volney to Priestley. Butler, and Kant, and Reid tower above Hume, and Diderot, and Condillac. If we speak of theorists of nature, how small and contemptible seems the system of D'Holbach by the side of that of Swedenborg! Who compares Helvetius with Cuvier?

But there is one thing more rare, as well as more power-

* 1. *The Life of Wesley; and Rise and Progress of Methodism.* By Robert Southey, Esq., LL. D. Third Edition. *With Notes by the late* Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Esq., *and Remarks on the Life and Character of John Wesley, by the late* Alexander Knox, Esq. *Edited by the* Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, A. M. London. 1846. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1056.

2. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, M. A., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Collected from his Private Papers and Printed Works; and written at the Request of his Executors. To which is prefixed some Account of his Ancestors and Relations; with the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M. A., collected from his Private Journal, and never before published. The whole forming a History of Methodism, in which the Principles and Economy of the Methodists are unfolded.* By John Whitehead, M. D. Boston: J. McLeish. 1844. 2 vols. 8vo pp. 308 and 313.

3. *The Life of the Rev. John Wesley, A. M., sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Founder of the Methodist Societies.* By Richard Watson. New York. 1831.

ful, in a period of doubt and disputation, than scholarship, or science, or philosophy. Apologetic literature, so characteristic of the theologians of the last century, is at best barren in vital force or quickening energy. Earnest faith is the thing needed, — faith whose words burn as well as enlighten. Such the eighteenth century had. The age of Rousseau and Voltaire was the age of Whitefield and Wesley.

Providence appears to keep up a pontificate of its own, very different from that in the gift of the Romish cardinals. Its holy unction dwells ever upon some consecrated head. If Fénelon bore it in his time, it is not difficult to point out his successor. From the death-bed of the Archbishop of Cambray, we look towards England for a person worthy of being named in connection with him. The date is 1715. Remembering that Europe was then entering upon that transition period of doubt and infidelity that has so marked the whole century, — not forgetting, that at that time in Geneva, in Switzerland, there was a child of three years named John James Rousseau, and in Champagne, in France, another of two years named Denis Diderot, and that the young Arouet, afterwards called Voltaire, at the age of twenty-one was already astonishing the saloons of Paris, and alarming the court of Versailles, by his genius and satire, — we pass on, and, crossing the Straits of Dover, approach the cliffs of England, and look upon the land of our fathers at that interesting period. The revolutionary struggles of the nation had subsided. The belligerent parties and their descendants, both Puritan and Churchman, enjoyed the privileges of civil and religious liberty with comparatively small restriction. But with quiet times worldliness came. No longer provoked by persecution, nor startled by danger, the Established Church and the Dissenting sects had settled down into a comfortable indifference. Honorable exceptions, indeed, there were, — exceptions among high names in literature, such as Bishop Wilson, Doddridge, and Watts; — exceptions, too, in quarters then indeed little noted, but since well known by their fruits, as in the case of the family in Epworth, Lincolnshire, which furnishes us with our present subject.

In that place, a market-town of some two thousand inhabitants, dwelt at the time of which we are speaking a good Christian minister, who had little sympathy with the general indifference. He had been for more than twenty years

pastor of the village, and united with the Episcopal principles which he had adopted much of the Puritan zeal in which he had been educated. His wife was of the same mind and religious lineage. She had so far departed from the usual etiquette of the Establishment as to conduct religious conferences in her parlour during her husband's absence, much to the horror of Mr. Inman, the starched-up curate. Such had been the good pastor's opposition to prevalent vices, that in 1709, when his house was burned to the ground, and his son John, then six years old, was saved from the flames almost by a miracle, the incendiaries were supposed to be persons who had been goaded to revenge by the closeness of the preaching.

At the time selected for the commencement of our sketch, the family appears to have consisted of eight members, — the parents and six children. The eldest son, Samuel, a High-Churchman in orders, aged twenty-three, was a graduate of Oxford, and then connected with the charge of Westminster school. The second son, John, had been absent about a year at the Charter-House school, London, and was twelve years old. The youngest surviving son, Charles, aged seven, was at home, preparing to go to Westminster under the protection of his eldest brother. Of the three sisters, although interesting and gifted persons, we cannot speak.

The people of England little thought that from the family of this humble minister of Epworth the greatest religious movement of the age was to originate. If, at the time spoken of, any remarkable attention was directed towards Epworth parsonage, it was not on account of any anticipation of the renown of the family, but from the strange sounds and shocks which towards the end of the year began to alarm the household, and which have never been satisfactorily accounted for. They were believed to be supernatural; but soon the servants gave up their fright, and from the frequency of his visitations learned to joke about the ghost, whom they called "Old Jeffrey."

If the career of the sons had been matter of interest sufficient to engage attention, it would have seemed no very difficult matter to predict their destiny. The eldest had already found his sphere, and the younger sons, John and Charles, intended, as they were, for that stronghold of priestly conservatism, Oxford, might have been expected to walk in the same path as their brother, — passing their lives in some quiet academic office, or comfortable parsonage.

A measure of distinction might perhaps have been anticipated from talents such as theirs, but not the distinction of great innovators or reformers. If of the two younger boys peculiar hope was entertained at home, it was probably of the elder of them, John, rather than of the more restless Charles. John had been saved from fire as by especial providence, and on earth, as among the angels, there is joy over the lost lamb that is found. Mothers are sometimes very shrewd as well as affectionate, and from passages in Mrs. Wesley's papers we infer that she had made him the object of peculiar mention in her prayers, speaking before God "of the soul of this child, whom thou hast so mercifully provided for." How her prayers were granted we shall soon see.

Leave Epworth in the year 1715. Return to it twenty-seven years afterwards. The first week in June, 1742, a traveller covered with dust entered the town, and, "not knowing whether there were any left in it now who would not be ashamed of his acquaintance," went to an inn in the middle of the place. Every feature of the village is familiar to him, yet he is among strangers. Only an old servant of his father, and two or three poor women, recognize him, for he had been absent many years. Yet his name needed only to be mentioned to set the people in commotion. It was John Wesley, son of the former and now deceased minister of the village. It was the famous man who had for about three years been putting vast assemblies into a blaze of enthusiasm by his itinerant preaching. Himself a minister of the Church of England, he called on the curate of the parish, Mr. Romley, and offered to assist him either by preaching or reading prayers. Romley was one of those strong Churchmen of the period, whose respect for orthodoxy in its old routine was only equalled by their relish for a good dinner with abundant potations. The curate's wine-bibbing propensity Mr. Southey is willing to affirm. Romley rejected the traveller's offer with scorn. In the afternoon, although the people crowded to church to hear their old minister's son, the curate conducted the services himself, and preached against religious enthusiasm, in that peculiar style of eloquence which is most congenial with the after-dinner hours of men of his stamp. After sermon, John Taylor, a companion of Wesley, stood in the church-yard, and gave notice, that "Mr. Wesley, not being permitted to preach in the church, designs to preach here at six o'clock."

"Accordingly," says our traveller in his Journal, "at six I came, and found such a congregation as Epworth never saw before. I stood near the east end of the church, upon my father's tomb-stone, and cried, 'The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.'" During the week, and on the next Sunday, he preached from that singular pulpit, which he undoubtedly selected from true filial feeling, however well fitted for dramatic effect. Southey well compares him to the Greek tragedian, who, when he performed Electra, brought into the theatre the urn containing the ashes of his own child.

Who can wonder at the effect of such an appeal? "Lamentation," he says, "and great groanings were heard, God bowing down their hearts, so as with one accord they lifted up their voices and wept aloud." Some dropped down as if dead, and others, having passed through the crisis, broke out into thanksgiving.

We feel, of course, interested in knowing what impression the preacher left upon the intelligent portion of his hearers. A gentleman present, of a somewhat skeptical turn of mind, Mr. Whitelamb, a clergyman of the English Church, thus describes the scene in a letter to Wesley himself, whose brother-in-law he was: —

"Dear brother, I saw you at Epworth on Tuesday evening. Fain would I have spoken to you, but that I am quite at a loss how to address you or behave. Your way of thinking is so extraordinary that your presence creates an awe, as if you were an inhabitant of another world. God grant that you and your followers may have entire liberty of conscience: will you not allow others the same? I cannot refrain from tears when I think that this is the man who at Oxford was more than a father to me! This is he whom I have heard expound and dispute publicly or preach at St. Mary's with such applause!"

John Wesley is now fully before us. We are in a good condition to judge of his character and history, aided by so many advisers. To say nothing of the obsolete works of Colet and Hampson, we have before us biographies by Henry Moore, who sides with the regular Methodist organization, Whitehead,* who is rather severe upon the Wesleyan

* The work of Whitehead came near dying out, we might infer, from the statement of the American editor, that he knew of only two copies, —

hierarchy, Southey, who looks through the spectacles of the English Church, and Watson, who appears to aim at a medium which shall unite brevity with comprehensiveness, and honor Methodism with least disparagement to other parties. The notes of Coleridge are of essential service in modifying the one-sidedness of Southey, and doing justice to the enthusiasm which the High-Churchman could little appreciate. Using these aids, let us now look upon Wesley as presented to us at this interesting period of his life. He is now in the meridian of his years, although little beyond the entrance of his famous career. In him, the fervid field-preacher, and in Mr. Romley, the tippling, easy curate, who declared him unfit to receive Christian communion, we see specimens of the two extremes of the Christianity of the times. We ask, What were the causes of Wesley's singular course? How came he by his peculiar views and marvellous power?

The son of the Epworth minister, after completing his preparatory studies at the Charter-House, at sixteen went to Oxford. In six years he received deacon's orders, at the age of twenty-two. He now added to the former Christian sobriety of his life a careful and systematic attention to sacred studies and devout meditations. His favorite books were Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, Thomas à Kempis's Imitation of Christ, and Law's Serious Call. He divided his hours by a most rigid method, and soon made himself obnoxious by his excessive strictness. From the time that he found companions in his ascetic course, Methodism dates its nominal rise. This was in the year 1729, his twenty-sixth year, when he, with his brother Charles and two others, united at Oxford in a society for mutual edification and Christian action. They lived, studied, visited, preached, and gave alms by a rigid rule or method. Hence the name Methodists, although it was not until years afterwards that the denomination with its distinctive principles arose. Before he appears as the founder of a great religious order, the ascetic priest of Oxford must pass through a second and third crisis. He must spend three years in absence from his country, and on his return meet with the change which he regarded as his conversion.

Omen of events afterwards to transpire, he turned his face

---

his own and one other. There is one in the library of Brown University, however. From catalogues of foreign collections, we judge the work to be no great rarity in England.

towards our Western hemisphere. At the age of thirty-two he sailed for Georgia as an Episcopal missionary, and high hopes were entertained of his labors in that new settlement. Those hopes were miserably disappointed, for he made as complete a failure as any green divinity student could possibly do, by sheer folly. Devoted and conscientious as he was, he so overstepped the due bounds in his requirements, and held on so stoutly to every letter of his ascetic code, that he provoked the worldly, and sometimes scandalized the really religious. Among other foolish entanglements, he got into a vexing controversy with the friends of Mrs. Williamson, to whom before her marriage he had been thought engaged. He made himself the town-talk, by his pertinacity in refusing her the communion. His success was pretty much the same as would attend one of the Oxford Tractarians, who should leave his academic halls and venerable cloisters for a mission to some new settlement in Missouri or Iowa, and attempt to bring the motley population of the place into conformity to his numberless fasts and saints' days. Wesley, indeed, came very near anticipating Puseyism by a century. In many things he reminds us of Newman and his party.* His experience at Savannah probably did much to cure him of his formalism, and after a three years' absence he returned to England, a wiser but no less devoted man.

Now the great crisis, as he deemed it to be, came. During his passage to America, and his residence there, he had become acquainted with many Moravians, spent much time in their company, and been much impressed with the deep and serene faith which they exhibited alike in their words and deeds, — a faith that seemed to give them a strange peace in their daily lives, and to lift them above fear in the most terrific dangers. No melody ever moved him like the hymn chanted by them during the storm at sea. He was led to think much of their favorite doctrine of the witness of the spirit, or of that interior assurance which convinces the Christian that he is forgiven and accepted, and which of course substitutes peaceful reliance for anxious waiting. He was to be indebted for a still more decided influence to these good Moravians. A few months after his return to England he fell in with Peter Boehler, and had earnest

* It is worthy of note, that Rev. Charles Wesley, grandson of the noted Charles, is now chaplain to the queen, and one of the prominent friends of the Oxford school.

conversations with him as to the ground of peace with God. After talking with Wesley, Boehler exclaimed, "My brother, my brother! this philosophy of yours must be purged away." Boehler advised him to rely upon Christ with more simplicity and confidence, and insisted upon the efficacy of implicit faith in giving pardon and peace. May 24, 1738, was the day which Wesley regarded as the time of his first being brought to stand on true gospel ground, and of his exchanging legal formalism for spiritual faith. The morning had been spent in the study of the Bible, and "in the evening," he says, "I went very unwillingly to a society in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, whilst he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt that I did trust in Christ, — in Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me, that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

After a short visit to the Moravians of Germany, to avail himself of their counsels, Wesley returned to England, and commenced the career in which he continued for upwards of fifty years.

Now he had a constant and engrossing theme, — present salvation through faith with the witness of the spirit. Speaking from an experience so full and dearly bought, he preached with a power that seemed as surprising to himself as to his hearers. Whitefield was in advance of him in the work; but even that noted revivalist, — afterwards leader of the Calvinistic branch of the Methodists, as Wesley was of the Arminian branch, — Whitefield, gifted perhaps in voice and manner as no preacher ever was before, soon found himself second in influence to one by no means conspicuous for personal graces, or noted for native eloquence. Induced at first, by Whitefield's urgency, to break through the decorum deemed binding upon a minister of the English Church, Wesley preached first in the open air at Bristol, in 1739, and soon found himself obliged to continue the practice from necessity, since the pulpits of his Episcopal brethren were generally closed against him, and moreover no edifice would have been sufficient to hold the vast assemblies which he frequently addressed.

We thus see the train of influences that made him what he

was when he appeared in the village of his birth, and preached with such power, standing upon his father's tomb. Yet it was not until two years after his alleged conversion, that Methodism appeared in the form of a distinct organization. In 1740, Wesley separated from the Moravians, and to that date Methodists ascribe the rise of their great denomination. In 1744, four years afterwards, the first conference of Methodist preachers was held; and in 1784, the articles were drawn up which provided for the discipline of the order after the founder's death, and the decisive steps were taken which gave to the American branch of the fraternity distinct superintendents, or bishops, as they were afterwards called.

The period of Wesley's noted public ministry is before us, — a subject of intense interest. Yet we can but glance over its eventful scenes. Think as we may of the wisdom of his system or the truth of his doctrines, we must all allow that he was a true soldier of the cross, and shrank from no opportunity of serving his Master's cause. Nothing in history is more remarkable than his conduct in the midst of mobs that sought his life; and no scenes in the progress of Christianity are more touching than some that may be chosen from his career of itinerancy. He never quailed before the most infuriated mob, and almost always lulled the storm to rest. Upon these transactions Southey is more eloquent in the preacher's praise than even Moore or Watson.

In one case, when the house was beset by a great crowd, who cried out for him and declared that they would have him, — "Bring out the minister, we will have the minister!" — he simply desired one of his friends to invite the captain of the mob into the house. The fellow came, and was so worked upon — whether soothed or awed — as to seem an entirely different person; and by the charm of Wesley's address, two or three of the man's companions went through the same change. Wesley afterwards went out, and, standing upon a chair, addressed the mob. The cry was now very unlike the former one: — "The gentleman is an honest gentleman, and they that seek for his blood must spill ours first." In another instance, he had been seized and bruised by a mob. He appealed to them to give him a hearing, and, obtaining at length a moment's silence, immediately in that clear and moving voice of his began to pray. The man who had headed the rabble, and who had been prize-fighter at a bear-garden, was so wrought upon as to turn and say: —

"Sir, I will spend my life for you! Follow me, and not one here shall touch a hair of your head."

Why should the populace have been so enraged at a movement so pacific as that of Methodism? In part, probably, on account of the rebuke applied to prevalent sins, and in part from the novelty and strangeness of the meetings. There was undoubtedly some offence against good taste in the exciting method of the preachers; but an English mob has never shown any great horror of bad rhetoric or of overmuch vehemence. It was the conversion of their friends and neighbours that stirred up the wrath of the crowd. Once in a while, moreover, some strait-laced Tory was found conniving at the outrages of the rabble. Wesley tells a curious story of the arrest of a score of Methodists, who were immediately put into a wagon, and dragged to the justice's. Their accusers were asked to state the ground of the complaint, and seemed at this to be struck dumb. At last, one of them cried out,—"Why, they pretend to be better than other people; and besides, they pray from morning till night." The magistrate asked if they had done nothing else. "Yes sir," said an old man, "they have *convarted* my wife, an't please your worship. Till she went among them, she had such a tongue! And now she is quiet as a lamb." "Carry them back, carry them back," said the magistrate, "and let them convert all the scolds in town."

Wesley's Journal describes with graphic simplicity the scenes of his itinerant preaching. "At Gwenap, in the county of Cornwall," he says, "I stood upon the wall in the calm, still evening, with the setting sun behind me, and almost an innumerable multitude before, behind, and on either hand. Many likewise sat on the little hills, at some distance from the bulk of the congregation. But they could all distinctly hear, while I read, 'The disciple is not above his master,' and the rest of those comfortable words, which are day by day fulfilled in our ears." To this spot he frequently came, and in his old age he says of it:—"I think this is one of the most magnificent spectacles to be seen this side heaven. And no music is to be heard on earth comparable to the sound of many thousand voices, when they are all harmoniously joined together, singing praises to God and the Lamb."

At another time he speaks of preaching so near the sea in a high wind, as to make him fear that he could not be heard,

yet "God gave me so clear and strong a voice," says he, "that I believe scarce one word was lost." Again he preached in a church-yard by the ruins of a cathedral, and a great congregation from the lead-mines knelt down in the grass among the tomb-stones. This scene might well have shaken the ashes beneath the sod, and brought out the ghosts of the old monks and devotees who had once worshipped at that decayed altar, and carried blessings to the neighbouring poor. Again, at Gawksham he preached on the side of an enormous mountain, and "the congregation," he says, "stood and sat row above row in the sylvan theatre." Once he had the ground measured, and found that he had been distinctly heard at the distance of a hundred and forty yards. At the age of seventy, he preached in the open air to thirty thousand persons.

His labors were incredible alike in their amount and their character. Preacher, theologian, ruler, he was constantly at work. Every year he travelled many thousand miles, and even in his travels never slackened his studies. On horseback he was at his book, and at the stopping-places was ready with pen and voice. Twenty years before his death, an edition of his works in thirty-two volumes was published, embracing treatises upon a great variety of subjects. Religion was of course the absorbing theme, but history, natural philosophy, grammar, and even medicine, came in for their share of his time and pen. He was the father of the system of cheap books for the people. He was willing alike to compose and to compile whatever would instruct and elevate the many. Thus he exerted vast influence. From the sale of his books he derived the chief means for his great charities. To his honor be it spoken, the amount ascertained to have been given away by him exceeds a hundred thousand dollars. Consistently enough he might preach that close and judicious sermon on "Money as a Talent," under the three heads, — "Gain all you can; Save all you can; Give all you can." Many go with the preacher in the first two heads, who would be much staggered by the third.

There is no sight more refreshing and instructive than a cheerful, active old man. Let us look in upon Wesley in his hale old age.

The excellent Alexander Knox met him a few years before his death, and declared that every hour spent in his company afforded him fresh reason for esteem and veneration.

"So fine an old man I never saw. The happiness of his mind beamed forth in his countenance; every look showed how fully he enjoyed

'The gay remembrance of a life well spent.'

In him old age appeared delightful, like an evening without a cloud."

It would not have been difficult to identify that old man anywhere, whether in London or either of the chief cities of his sojourn, or in his travels. Few, however, would have judged him to be what he was, from his external appearance merely. Little of the daring innovator was there in his mien. In some distant part of England, you might have seen a man pursuing his journey resolutely on horseback, and showing by the book in his hand that he grudged to lose a single moment of time. You might see the same man walking with firm step through some town or village, giving proof in every motion that he had a work to do. His stature was under middle size, his habit of body thin, but compact. A clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, an eye of piercing brightness, a complexion of perfect healthfulness, distinguished him among all others. Even his dress was characteristic, — the perfection of neatness and simplicity, perhaps with a little touch of primness; a narrow, plaited stock, a coat with a small upright collar, — his clothes without any of the usual ornaments of silk or velvet, — combined with a head white as snow to give the idea of a man of a peculiarly primitive character.

One book he always carries with him in his journeys, besides the Bible. It is his Diary. Would we learn what view of life the old man takes, we can seem to look over his shoulder on his eighty-sixth birthday, and read what he has written. June 28, 1788, he writes: —

"I this day enter on my eighty-sixth year. And what cause have I to praise God, as for a thousand spiritual blessings, so for bodily blessings also! How little have I suffered yet by the rush of numerous years!"

After mentioning a few marks of the infirmity of age, he declares that he feels no such thing as weariness either in travelling or preaching.

"And I am not conscious of any decay in writing sermons, which I do as readily, and I believe as correctly, as ever.

"To what cause can I impute this, that I am as I am? First, doubtless, to the power of God fitting me for the work to which I am called, as long as he pleases to continue me therein; and next, subordinately to this, to the prayers of his children.

"May we not impute it, as inferior means, — 1. To my constant exercise and change of air? 2. To my never having lost a night's sleep, sick or well, at land or at sea, since I was born? 3. To my having sleep at command, so that, whenever I feel myself almost worn out, I call it, and it comes, day or night? 4. To my having constantly, for about sixty years, risen at four in the morning? 5. To my constant preaching at five in the morning for above fifty years? 6. To my having had so little pain in my life, and so little sorrow or anxious care?

"Even now, though I find pain daily in my eye, or temple, or arm, yet it is never violent, and seldom lasts many minutes at a time. Whether or not this is sent to give me warning that I am shortly to quit this tabernacle, I do not know; but be it one way or the other, I have only to say, —

'My remnant of days
I spend to his praise
Who died the whole world to redeem;
Be they many or few,
My days are his due,
And they all are devoted to him!'"

So it proved three years afterwards. In 1791, March 2d, at the age of eighty-eight, he breathed his last, with a hymn of praise on his lips. With the little strength remaining, he cried out to the friends watching his departure, — "The best of all is, God is with us"; and could only whisper the first two words of a favorite psalm, — "I 'll praise, I 'll praise." His friends were left to finish the lines, for Wesley's voice was to be heard no more.

He died, but a work remained such as no other man of his century left behind him. At the time of his death, more than a hundred thousand persons looked to him as their guide to heaven, and now the hundred thousand has become a million.

Whence this vast power? We reply, from the age, the man, and the method.

The age was cold and skeptical. The common people were neglected by those who should have been their teachers. A tongue of fire was needed none the less for the philosophy and scholarship that distinguished the eighteenth century. The metaphysics and ethics of sages like Berkeley and Butler, the learning of scholars like Lardner and

Warburton, were little successful in awakening faith; nor were the well written and sensible sermons of Secker and Sherlock, Paley and Blair, very powerful in rebuking sin, even in the select class of their admirers. Fire was wanted, and it came.

It came in a peculiar man, and a peculiar method. The man was a combination of elements usually deemed incompatible. We cannot accord to him any remarkable depth of intellect. To philosophical insight or metaphysical faculty he laid small claim. Neither was poetic genius one of his gifts; nor any remarkable power of fancy or imagination. George Fox, his forerunner in practical reform, notwithstanding his narrower compass of gifts and attainments, strikes us as having a deeper mind; and original thoughts once in a while shine out from his rhapsodic medleys, that startle the reader more than any thing in the great Methodist's pages. But as uniting practical judgment and efficiency with burning enthusiasm, Wesley is unequalled, certainly on this side of the age of St. Ignatius. His head was as clear and utilitarian as Franklin's, — without the least particle of mysticism or extravagance; whilst his heart flamed with a zeal like Loyola's, and glowed with a charity like Fénelon's. At once an acute reasoner and an enthusiastic devotee, he carried out his thoughts and emotions with a determination of purpose worthy of being mentioned with the mightiest, — even with that mighty will already preparing, at the close of Wesley's life, to show itself in France in the young officer from Corsica.

It cost him little to say that least and hardest of words, — that countersign to the gate of virtue, — "No." He could readily resist the entreaties of father and brother. He was proof against the irritations of the fireside, and swerved not a jot from his course to propitiate the peculiar companion, who, it was more than whispered, enabled him to sympathize with Job, the patriarch, and Socrates, the sage. He carried out his plans without regard to opposition on the part of others, or to the sacrifice of his own time or ease. As an instance of his disposition, he coolly ascertained, by experiment, how much sleep would do for him, and the result became the rule of his subsequent life. Not a few of our readers, doubtless, from remembrance of many vain attempts to form the habit of early rising, will be ready to say that the man who could do this need not fear difficulty in any quarter.

Wesley's sharp mind and determined will remind us often of old Wickliffe, although that father of the Reformation distanced him far as an independent Protestant and Scripturalist. Wesley was a rigid disciplinarian, and came near being a sad formalist. That he was tyrannical, we see no proof. His great power came to him from the necessity of his position. We cannot say that the sectarian sceptre was as disagreeable to him as it would have been to many of his contemporaries, although we can name none who would have borne it with greater mildness and self-denial. Benevolent, just, persevering, courageous, indomitable, he stands, beyond question, first in achievement among the Christian men of his century.

Such was the man. From the man came the method. It was part and parcel of himself, — the method of doctrine, and of discipline. The doctrine came from his clear head and religious experience, in connection with his study of the Bible in itself and its interpreters. His creed pointed to immediate effect. The Christian life, according to him, begins at once in repentance and faith. Thus the need of immediate salvation must be urged, and men exhorted to lay hold of acceptance at once. Thus begun, the Christian life continues in peaceful assurance progressively to perfect love. Religion being thus progressive, and man being gifted with ability to advance or retreat, hence the need of a system of instruction and discipline that shall have constant watch over the converts. Accordingly, if the readiness with which present salvation through faith was offered to the listening thousands savored too much of enthusiasm, the fear of their abuse of the doctrine ceased the moment the ably adjusted mode of discipline appeared, by which the convert was led on, by patient steps, from his new raptures to maturer knowledge and more sober piety.

The force with which Wesley insisted upon the doctrine of free-agency, in opposition to Calvinism, — his statement, that every man can lay hold of salvation for himself, and afterwards lose his hold by negligence, — gave him great power in appealing to men to repent and believe, and strive to continue in well-doing when once upon the right ground. The cheerful, affectionate temper of his faith, the hope and love expressed in the hymns and general devotions of the Methodist worship, gave the cause of which he was the leader great popularity in an age of heavy formalism. He owed

much to his brother Charles, his constant helper, — less resolute than himself, indeed, in action, and sometimes weary of innovation, but far his superior in poetical gifts. To Charles Wesley Christendom owes a lasting monument, as one of her most gifted psalmists, uniting, as he does, the great excellences of a writer of hymns, — fervor, point, simplicity, and dignity.

Measured by the classic standards, Wesley was by no means a great preacher. His sermons show little genius, but great good sense, coherence, practical knowledge, and force. Some of them are very remarkable for worldly wisdom in connection with Christian aim. All of them show the same single purpose, — to win men to Christ, and keep them there. They are, by universal consent, greatly superior to Whitefield's; yet they do not, in the printed form, exhibit sufficient power to enable us to understand their singular effect. The power was in the man. The spirit that was in him struck fire from the simplest words.

As a theologian, he was learned, lucid, and forcible, although by no means the first in this department in his denomination. The superiority of Fletcher, in point of depth, is, we believe, generally admitted. If — as he himself would have deemed it no slander to call him — he were the Montanus of the movement, determined and fervent, like that bold Phrygian, Fletcher was the Tertullian, mightier with the pen, and the master in theological wisdom.

As a disciplinarian, he was very strict; yet he imposed upon others fewer burdens, by far, than he assumed himself. A stickler for due subordination, he abhorred slavery, and cried out against it at a time when it was an heroic thing so to do. Partial to Episcopacy, he detested its too frequent formalism, regarded bishops, not as a distinct order by themselves, but simply as superintending presbyters, and had no faith in the doctrine of the Apostolic succession as held by Churchmen. His method of discipline, reaching, as it did, from the small bands of a few persons up to the General Conference, was characteristic of himself. He was a paragon of systematic order. When, a boy at school, he ran every morning thrice round the garden for exercise, he showed a trait that marked his whole life. His day was divided with a precision that is amazing. He would not yield a jot from his plans, even to keep friendship with Whitefield, or to enjoy the society of Dr. Johnson. He thus, by his rigid

method, accomplished a vast amount of work, and lived ten lives in one. As he ruled himself, so he legislated for others. The Methodist system illustrates the man, and an acquaintance with its workings is the best key to his character. Many of its features we must regard as too dictatorial for our Protestant freedom, and far from being an improvement even upon the hierarchy which it displaced. But under his administration it appears to have been admirably adjusted and balanced. We cannot but say, — Honor to the man who in himself exalted so rigid a method with so earnest a soul, and combined in his policy such elements of order and freedom, control and aspiration!

Faults he doubtless had. Who has them not? He may have been too set and notional, a little imperious, somewhat credulous and superstitious. Some of his opinions were whimsical. He believed in ghosts and evil possession. He recognized the future existence of brute beasts. He trusted important actions to lot, and ascribed peculiar authority to the passages of the Bible upon which he might chance to open. But he should be judged by the rule of his life, not by the exception. Surely, what he calls true religion or catholic love was the inspiration of his life. Of the convulsions, shrieks, trances, groans, and shouts of his converts we make small account, as he comparatively did at last. The deepest groanings of the spirit are those "that cannot be uttered." It is for the warmth of his Christian love, and the hearts without number inflamed by him with the like sentiment, that we honor him. To us his name is fragrant among the saints and fathers of modern Christendom. With some of our readers, at least, his name will be greeted more cordially from the fact, that he did not regard the gate of heaven as closed against the pious believer in a creed not Trinitarian, and recognized a Unitarian, like Firmin, as a genuine Christian.

What is to be the destiny of the religious order formed by him we do not undertake to predict. The symptoms of return to the Establishment among some of the more wealthy and cultivated Methodists of England, and the dissensions upon reform topics in the denomination in this country, present omens not very encouraging to the champions of the Wesleyan hierarchy. We apprehend, moreover, that the progress of Christian liberty, in its best sense, will not be favorable to the permanence of the rigid discipline and des-

potic polity with which the successors of Wesley have continued to burden their churches, under circumstances so different from those existing in the days of their founder. Time is a severe commentator upon every religious reform. Enthusiasm is apt to end in license or tyranny. To which issue Methodism is more likely to tend, grave history must ere long record. That record, whatever it may be, will leave no stain upon the memory of Wesley. If Whitehead gives the true view of the rise of Methodism, Wesley's better genius would be as much honored by the prevalence of a more independent spirit, as by the continued or increasing consolidation of the order.

Wesley's death took place, as we have seen, March 2d, 1791. England little appreciated the man whom she had lost. The Established Church, of which he continued a minister to the last, and in the bosom of which until shortly before his decease he had desired his people to remain simply as a religious society, gave him little benediction, shutting against him the pulpits that were open to clerical Nimrods and Bacchanals.

Look from Wesley's death-bed towards France; and on the morrow the streets of Paris exhibited a scene that should have proved to the conservatives of England the worth of him who could impress upon the neglected masses the sentiment of religion. The sacred vessels of the Parisian churches were carried to the mint to be coined into that which is called the "sinew of war." England followed not France in the desecration. A sentiment of reverence guarded, and still guards, her altars. The tombs of her saints and sages were not to be violated as were those of France, nor their ashes to be scattered to the winds, that the lead of their coffins might be moulded into bullets. Hearts, by thousands, once rude and violent, were now at peace with God, living in recognition of a heavenly kingdom, and chanting holy hymns instead of shouting fiendish curses. Myriads once crushed beneath poverty and toil had been rescued, and, with the faith and love of the Gospel, every good gift had been given. America, too, had shared the blessing; her remote borders had been visited by the missionaries of Methodism, and her forests had rung with their thrilling hymns.

The founder of the great society rested not in St. Paul's nor Westminster Abbey. The ruling powers did not desire it, although they did not deny such consecrated ground to a

profligate man of genius, or a blasphemous soldier. Nor did Wesley desire to be buried away from his people. His remains were laid beneath the chapel in which he had so often preached.

Rest in peace, soul of John Wesley! we are all ready to say. May the English race, in all its branches, bless that name. As for us, we take leave of his memory now by applying to him his own tribute to Whitefield in the sermon upon his death, in 1770: —

"Who is a man of a catholic spirit? One who loves as friends, as brethren in the Lord, as joint partakers of the present kingdom of heaven and fellow-heirs of his eternal kingdom, all, of whatever opinion, mode of worship, or congregation, who believe in the Lord Jesus; who love God and man; who, rejoicing to please and fearing to offend God, are careful to abstain from evil and zealous of good works. He is a man of a truly catholic spirit who bears all these continually upon his heart; who, having an unspeakable tenderness for their persons, and an earnest desire for their welfare, does not cease to commend them to God in prayer, as well as to plead their cause before men; who speaks comfortably to them, and labors by all his words to strengthen their hands in God. He assists them to the uttermost of his power in things temporal and spiritual. He is ready to spend and be spent for them; yea, to lay down his life for them. How amiable a character is this! How desirable to every child of God!"

This portrait came from the painter's own soul. It might have been extravagant praise to bestow on George Whitefield. It is no more than truth, when applied to John Wesley.

Thoughts many and important are suggested by the survey that we have hastened through. This thought is most obvious, and is all that can be added: — What an idea the history of Wesley and his work gives of the capacity of an individual, and of the productiveness of a single life! It is a great question, in our day, How may the largest crop be derived from an acre of ground? Far greater the question, How much efficient power can a life produce? Wesley's story is a stern homily on persevering, devoted, cheerful labor. "Work! work!" it cries, trumpet-tongued. "Work on, work ever, in faith and love!"

His method we know; what is ours? Let every conscience answer. S. O.

ART. II. — ON THE NEGLECT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Is the number of church members, or regular partakers of the Lord's Supper, in our religious societies, such as ought to satisfy us, as Christians, that all is right? If not, what is the general extent of the neglect, what are its evils, the causes from which it proceeds, and the means to which we may resort for its removal?

That there does exist a very great neglect of the communion is a point which appears, unhappily, only too easy to prove. If a person unacquainted with the customs of Christian countries, a Mohammedan or an Asiatic Jew, were to enter one of our churches, and to be told that he was about to witness the rite commemorative of the founder of our religion, he would experience some surprise at the spectacle presented. Having just heard the whole assembly addressed in language implying that they were all believers in Christianity, — having seen them all not only listening respectfully to the instructions of the preacher, but expressing by their posture that they united in the prayers which he offered, — he now sees them, before the memorial rite is administered, retiring in such numbers as to leave for the moment a doubt whether any will remain to join in it. And when, on a second glance, he discovers some persons, mostly advanced in years or of the gentler sex, occupying seats at wide intervals in the pews which were but a moment before so crowded, he asks in surprise, Are these all the Christians in the assembly? And, if these be all the Christians present, he might continue, of what religion are the others? He has seen no mosque, no synagogue, no pagoda, in the city or the village. Is it possible that three fourths or more of the inhabitants are of no religion at all, — believers in no God, and followers of no prophet?

The representation just given cannot be thought to be over-colored. We trust that there are churches among us, the aspect of which would be more encouraging. But in its general features, we believe that the representation we have given describes the true state of things in the worshipping assemblies of our own denomination.

Before inquiring into the causes, let us look for a moment at the evils of this neglect of the communion among us. Some, perhaps, may think that it would be a matter of little

consequence, if the non-observance of the rite were carried even farther than it is, — that it is but one of the externals of religion, and may be dispensed with, as it is by the Society of Friends, while the spirit of Christianity is still pervading the hearts and influencing the lives of men.

To this we reply, that though the rite is undoubtedly, as all rites are, external, it by no means follows that it is of slight importance. Not to insist on the ground of positive requirement by our Saviour, it is an institution which beyond all others serves to connect the disciple with Christ as his Master. Our religion — the religion we profess to believe — is not simple Theism. It is Christianity ; Theism as taught, developed, and proved by Jesus Christ. This is a distinction not always kept in view in addresses from the pulpit ; and even if the preacher remember it, the hearers are sometimes in danger of forgetting it, — of substituting a general and very indefinite belief in a God, for that beautiful delineation which the Gospel presents to us, in which we are made to understand the character of the Father by seeing it reflected in the Son. In order to avoid this danger, to remain living branches of the sacred vine of which Christ is the root, we need something to remind us continually of him, to bring before us in vivid representation the traits of that perfect character which is to be the model of ours. The communion effects this in a way in which nothing else can. It effects it in part even for those who do not approach the table, as it generally suggests as the subject of the accompanying discourse something suited to lead the hearers to contemplate their Master. But to the faithful communicant it does far more. It recalls him from the wanderings of vague speculation, to sit an humble learner at the Saviour's feet. From cold reasoning it recalls him to warm feeling. It places before him the world's great pattern of forgiveness, patience, love, and devoted obedience, and tells him, This is thy Master ; go and be thou like him.

By the prevalent neglect of the communion, all this is lost to thousands who ought to share its advantages. Nor is this all. An evil perhaps still greater exists in the *supposed* relaxation of the demands of duty, in favor of those who are not communicants. Highly as we value the influence of the Lord's Supper, we have sometimes been tempted for a moment to indulge the thought, that it were better not administered at all, than to be made, as it is, the privilege of a few.

For if by uniting in it those few express their belief, so by declining may not the majority be said to express their disbelief, or at least their unwillingness to receive the yoke of Christ? And making this negative profession, and being supported in it by the fellowship of thousands, what more natural than that they should live according to it? And thus they do live in many instances, apparently without a thought that they are accountable to the law of Christ, because they have never in the appointed way owned allegiance to that law. An eminent Virginian, when censured for his conduct in reference to a fatal duel, replied on the floor of Congress to the following effect: — "I am not a Christian. I honor Christianity, and hope that I may be a Christian at some future time. When I am so, I shall, I trust, act according to that profession. But at present my principles and my practice are those of the cavalier; my code is that of honor." Did he mean to assert that he was not a believer in the truth of the Christian religion? Not at all. His declaration, that he hoped to be a Christian at some future time, was an admission to the contrary. He only meant that he was not a church-member, "a professor," as the phrase is, and therefore, as he reasoned, was not accountable to the laws of religion for the part he had borne in the fatal deed. He spoke according to the views generally entertained on the subject through the greater part of our country, and I fear too prevalent even in New England.

Contemplate the subject in another point of view. The communion, as it is now observed, — or rather as it is now neglected, — becomes a snare for weak consciences. A young man grows up, and does not feel that strong religious impulse which is necessary to make him break through the prevailing custom and become a church-member. Still, he is sufficiently aware of his duty to make him feel that he has done wrong in neglecting it. There is then a sin committed, recognized, and persevered in. What a deeply injurious influence upon the character must proceed from the consciousness that this is the case! In those denominations which encourage their adherents to expect especial calls from God, this evil would be diminished. The young man would justify himself by the plea that he was waiting God's time, and would thus be saved in part from the debasing effects of conscious wrong-doing. But to a believer in our opinions this excuse would not be available.

But evil as this prevalent neglect of the Lord's Supper is in its consequences, it is still more alarming when viewed as a sign of the general state of feeling, or want of feeling, with regard to religion. We hope, indeed, to show that the existing state of things in our churches has arisen in part from other causes than want of piety. Yet we cannot but feel that the scanty number of communicants among us, particularly as compared with the attendance on the ordinance among our brethren of other denominations, is to be contemplated with humiliation and with anxiety.

What are the causes to which we must trace this lamentable inattention to the commemorative rite; and what the remedial measures to which we can resort?

Two different views of church-membership have been held among Christians. They may be called, for distinction's sake, the Catholic and the Genevan. We use the term Catholic, as, though liable to misconstruction, the best which the case admits. We mean by it the doctrine which we conceive to have been the original one; which prevailed undisputed in the Church of Rome, and was retained at the Reformation by the German Lutherans and the English Episcopalians. According to this view, church-membership is the right of all who believe in the truth of the religion, unless under express church censure. According to the Genevan view, it is the right only of those who have experienced a change of heart. In the Romish Church, the child, when he has attained a certain age, is confirmed and partakes of the communion as a matter of course. The same is the custom in the Lutheran and Episcopal Churches, except where their practice has been modified by intercourse with the Genevan sects. The Church of England knows no distinction between church-members and worshippers who are not church-members. The table is spread for all. Only in the Book of Common Prayer the direction is given, that if the minister shall know of any notorious evil-doer among those who approach the table, he shall warn him to abstain. So in the Lutheran Church. At a certain age the children are instructed in the principles of religion, examined and confirmed. They are then as much entitled to the communion as the most tried Christian in the congregation.

The other view of the ordinance is the Genevan. This, proceeding on the theory of a natural opposition of the heart to God, regards those only as proper members of the church

of Christ in whose hearts this opposition has been overcome by the influence of the Holy Spirit; and requires some proof of this fact,—at least that the individual himself should be convinced of it,—before he partakes of the communion. This view is carried out in the most consistent manner by the Baptists; for it is somewhat difficult to see why one of the ordinances should be granted to the unregenerate person, while the other is denied; why the child should be admitted, by baptism, into the church, and then, years after, find himself excluded from its privileges.

Now the Unitarian Church stands in this singular position,—that while its principles are such as favor the Catholic view of church-membership, its practice, derived from our Puritan ancestors, is in conformity with the Genevan. Hence we lose the advantages of both. Our people neither come to the communion as a matter of course, on reaching the suitable age, like the members of other non-Calvinistic denominations, nor do many among them ever experience that great inward conflict, succeeded by the transporting assurance of Divine favor, which their Orthodox neighbours regard as the proper commencement of a religious life.

In saying that the view of church-membership which we have called the Catholic one is more congenial to our opinions than the Genevan, we are aware of the objections which may be brought against this position. We may be told that the tendency of such a view is to degrade the ordinance of the Supper, by throwing it open to the whole congregation; and may be referred to the English Test Act, by which formerly all military and civil officers were compelled to partake of the communion in the Established Church. But the desecration of the ordinance here was not the result of any peculiar view of its nature. It was the result of a union of Church and State; and precisely the same result followed, from the same cause, among our Puritan ancestors. With them, no man could vote for civil officers, much less bear an office, unless he was a church-member,—in other words, unless he attended the communion under their form. Thus, even Genevan strictness could not save the ordinance from desecration to the purpose of a political test, under a government which recognized a union of Church and State.

If, as we are accustomed to maintain, there is no natural, hereditary depravity in man, but the child when born is pure from all stain of sin; if it is the legitimate work of a relig-

ious education, aided only by the unseen and universal influences of God's spirit, to sow and foster the seeds of piety; and if in those who are properly brought up regeneration is a change which, however important in itself, is at the time imperceptible; then the assumption of the Christian profession and obligations is evidently the proper termination of a course of youthful instruction in the principles of religion, and the youth, when he has gained a competent knowledge of his Maker's laws and his Saviour's character, should be led by his Sunday-school teacher to the communion-table. If, on the contrary, there is corruption to be removed, and a heart at enmity with God to be reconciled to him by a great and very perceptible inward change, then of course that change must be waited for till it shall please God to send it, whether it be late in life or early. Thus it is awaited among the Orthodox sects, and not in vain. Their whole system is adapted to produce, at some period of life, that marked change to which they give the name of regeneration. When this change takes place, he who feels it becomes a communicant of course, and thus their churches are filled. But we preach improvement much more than regeneration; and improvement is so gradual a process, that it fixes no precise time to be regarded as the proper season for a Christian profession; the consequence is, that with many of our people — far too many — that profession never is made.

We have shown with sufficient distinctness our own preference for the Catholic view of church-membership over the Genevan. But we are constrained to admit that very little good has followed the efforts which have been made among us to break down the barrier between the church and the congregation, and open the communion to all. Dr. Greenwood, several years since, published a tract, showing what was the ancient custom of the Church, and the practice most conformable to the teaching of Christ and his apostles; but though his own congregation inherited the Episcopal practice on the subject, he certainly did not succeed in leading them to a universal reception of the communion. In some few other churches among us the communion-table has been made open to all who should desire to approach, without examination, test, or subscription of any kind. As far as we have observed, no practical advantage has been gained thereby. The congregations at large, we believe, have no more thought of partaking than they would have done in those

churches where the table is most strictly "fenced." On the other hand, the rapid increase of the Baptist denomination seems to show that the establishment of a very wide distinction between church-members and others, attended with considerable external ceremony, has something attractive in it to the mind. On the whole, we are convinced, that though it is undeniable that the church of old comprehended the whole assembly of Christians, and the youth come to maturity attended the communion as unquestioningly as he attended preaching, yet the usages resulting from the Genevan creed are so firmly fixed in the habits of our communities, that attempts on the part of the clergy to restore the ancient system, and to bring the practice of our churches more into conformity with our faith, must be made with much deliberation and care, with ample explanation of the reason for every step pursued or recommended, and with much patience with regard to the direct fruit to be expected from such attempts.

We would not, therefore, recommend any direct interference with the existing organization of our churches, or the disuse of those simple and impressive forms which are generally employed in the reception of members. These forms are not a barrier which need prevent any one from entering the church. But let the clergy in their discourses, without endeavouring to destroy customs which have in them the claim to reverence which antiquity imparts, enlighten the people with regard to their own right to church-membership. Perhaps they will have more success than has yet fallen to their share, if they substitute this idea of *right* for that of *duty*, which they have been accustomed to urge, and, instead of endeavouring to force the people into the church, show them how unjustly they have in past time been excluded from it. And would it not be well, if they should strive to present to the young more distinctly than has yet been done the privilege of participation in the communion, as the result, the appropriate close, of their early course of instruction? In one of our churches, a few years since, the ceremony of confirmation was administered. This rite, though having strong claims to apostolic origin, and though from its intrinsic beauty and impressiveness we cannot but wish that our Puritan fathers had retained it, is still so entirely unknown to Congregational usage, that we would not recommend its introduction, unless after full consultation between the minister

and his people. But might not a form be adopted, by which, at each Sunday-school anniversary, or at the close or commencement of the year, the church should recognize those younger brethren and sisters, who had attained a sufficient age, and were found upon examination fitted in knowledge and in character, and extend to them the right hand of fellowship, inviting them to full communion? Let the pastor, having made a statement of his object, invite to his house the most advanced class in his Sunday school, or, in general, the young people of his society, between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Let him meet them on successive Sabbath evenings, or at such other times as may be convenient, and examine them individually upon their religious knowledge and feelings; let such instruction as shall be thought necessary be given in a series of familiar, conversational lessons, the design being especially to lead them to serious thought, and engage their personal interest in the subject of religion. At the termination of this course, which might continue for about two months, let them be received into the church in the presence of the congregation. Let this ceremony take place regularly, as often as the numbers presenting themselves will justify it, either annually, biennially, or triennially, and on some occasion which would increase the impressiveness of the scene. Such would be the last night of the old year, or the first Sunday of the new. Some, perhaps, favorably impressed towards the rite of confirmation, would on such occasions adopt the mode which that rite prescribes, receiving the young candidates for church-membership with the apostolic "laying on of hands." By most, however, it will probably be thought best to retain the simplicity of Congregational customs. What is of most importance will in either case be the same; — a regular service, at stated intervals, either annual or of two or three years, for adopting into partial or full connection with the church those who may have recently arrived at the suitable period to assume by their own act the obligations of religion. Something of special pastoral examination and instruction would also in either case be necessary. Such a course might be attended with signal advantage, by engaging the attention of the young, before they have parted from the salutary influence of Sunday-school instruction, and inducing them both to choose distinctly the path of Christian obedience, and by an act of profession to avow that choice, and secure to themselves for the remain-

der of their lives the hallowed and hallowing influences of the commemorative ordinance.

We have been led to speak at greater length than we intended of the obstacle to general attendance on the communion, to be found in the anomalous position of our denomination, combining a liberal creed with Calvinistic customs. But this cause is not alone.

Many are withheld from participation by mistakes relative to the nature of the ordinance, — some by a vague and superstitious dread, resulting from early impressions of a Calvinistic character, — others by a more distinct, though still erroneous opinion, founded on a misapprehension of St. Paul's language when protesting against the gross misconduct of the Corinthian church. Such errors the preacher must of course labor to remove, by showing the causes from which they have originated, and the effort which has from age to age been made to surround this simple rite with mystery, and render the festival of Christian freedom a means of strengthening the chains of mental slavery.

Others are detained from the communion by a very different cause, — a dislike of those qualities which they have, either with or without reason, been led to believe are apt to distinguish church-members, — formality, cant, and pharisaic hypocrisy. Feelings of such a description may, perhaps, better be met in private conversation than by preaching; though, occasionally, in the latter mode the character of the true church-member may be vindicated. This whole class of prejudices may be styled "anti-Orthodox." They result from the old controversial position of our denomination, and are gradually passing away. Their decline will be aided by the scrupulous observance of candor and courtesy by ministers in speaking of our Orthodox brethren. Where we differ from them, we may fairly state the difference and its reasons, but should never allow ourselves to sneer at their professions or their customs, nor suffer such sneers to pass unrebuked in our presence.

Others are deterred by a cause more worthy of respect, consisting in a tendency of mind to carry to excess the idea of the spiritual nature of religion. Our age and clime inspire a very different appreciation of religious forms from that which was natural to Orientals in the time of our Saviour. We have ceased entirely to recognize the spiritual influence of fasting; and there are those who have ceased to find any

such influence in a participation in the emblems of the Saviour's body and blood. Perhaps this tendency of our unimaginative age is felt by many who do participate. Many, probably, partake because they consider it their duty, who yet find it difficult to enter into the spirit of the ordinance. We should suppose that such a result implied some deficiency in susceptibility of imagination, but for instances where the mental character of the individual forbids such a supposition. And however we may regard such instances, we cannot but believe that the deficiency to which we have alluded is one great cause why the communion is undervalued. But the fault is not in the partakers alone. If the ordinance were presented to their minds as the Saviour appointed it, simply as a feast of love and commemoration of him, there are few who would not feel its power; but it has been so shrouded in mystery, so complicated with false ideas of church-membership and religious profession, that the dying Saviour is no longer the chief object present to the mind. The remedy for this evil, as far as depends on the clergy, is apparent. Let their remarks in explanation of the communion, their arguments for its observance, and, in great part, their views of it as a means of profession, be presented on other occasions; but when we meet around the table of the Lord, let him we commemorate be the chief object in the thoughts of all.

But after all, the great obstacle among ourselves, and among all sects, to attendance on the communion is the same great obstacle to all good which we are continually meeting, and must continually strive to remove, — indifference, want of deep religious feeling and principle. If the members of our congregations can be made truly pious, they will, generally speaking, be led by love and reverence to the communion-table, though any should strive to keep them thence; if their hearts are not brought under the influence of religion, in vain do we open the door to those who care not to enter. This consideration should not, indeed, prevent us from doing our best to remove every impediment that is caused by wrong views of the ordinance, nor from exercising our best judgment as to the means of winning attention to this important aid in Christian progress. Rather will this thought inspire new vigilance and activity. If we regard a scanty attendance upon the communion as a sign of a low state of piety in our congregations, we shall be

excited to remove not only the sign, but the cause from which it has proceeded. The minister's duty is twofold: — first, to place the ordinance in a proper point of view before his people, so that no impediment shall exist to keep back from participation those who are worthily disposed; this is one part; but the much more important branch of his office is, to awaken those feelings and impress those principles which shall lead to the discharge of this, as of every duty, the prompt and grateful use of this, as of every means of grace. Let neither portion of the great task be neglected. Let the clergy instruct their hearers in their duty and their right to approach the Lord's table. Let them still more earnestly strive to lead them forward in the love and in the fear of God, and in reverence and gratitude to their Redeemer.

To recapitulate the suggestions we have made as to the course to be pursued in order to induce a more general attendance upon the ordinance of the Supper. That course is, in the first place, that the minister should explain to his hearers that they are, if sincere believers in the Gospel, and endeavouring to obey its laws, entitled to church-membership; that it is not an end, but a means, — not a crown for the victor, but a sword for the combatant.

Secondly, that he should meet prejudice by fair and clear explanation of the true grounds of regard for the institution; and try, in whatever use he makes of the ordinance, to keep prominently in view its character as a memorial rite, intended to engage the feelings in the cause of religion.

Thirdly, that he should direct special attention to the young, — above all, to those who year after year leave the instruction of our Sunday schools; that, instead of suffering these to fall into the ranks of indifference, he should engage them to make the termination of their period of instruction the beginning of their membership in the church, consecrating themselves to God and to Christ at their entrance on the duties of mature life.

Lastly, that he should be excited, by regarding the scantiness of our communion-bands as a mark of the spiritual wants of our churches, to renewed ardor and perseverance, the exertion of every power and the use of every means to promote the growth of true piety among those intrusted to his charge. S. G. B.

Art. III. — NATURE AND CHRISTIANITY.

[A Dudleian Lecture, delivered in the Chapel of the University at Cambridge, May 12, 1847. By Rev. William H. Furness.]

The subject of this Lecture is Natural Religion, a subject which, with all the ability with which it has been treated, remains but imperfectly understood; as is evident from the impression, so generally existing, that while Christendom, the region of Revealed Religion (as Christianity is called, in opposition to Natural Religion), rejoices in the full daylight of religious truth, the rest of mankind are lost in a midnight gloom, — a very melancholy persuasion this, which, if well founded, destroys the value of the Christian revelation, and breaks up the very first principles of natural religion itself. For what sort of a world is this, what the Providence that watches over it, if the great majority of the human race are left, from the cradle to the grave, without guidance and without hope? However this belief may have been produced, whether it has been expressly taught or not, — although upon this point there can be no question, — the fact that such a faith exists is undeniable. It lies impressed upon the general mind of the Christian world, it is implied in much of our religious teaching and religious phraseology and religious action, that the boundaries of Christendom are the boundaries of all saving religious light, and that beyond all is dark, broken here and there by a few faint glimmerings which only suffice to make the darkness visible. The existence, the wide prevalence, of this notion gives an interest to our present subject, and makes us curious to know what the light of nature enables man to see, what Natural Religion is, what is meant by it.

I am not so presumptuous as to expect to make this matter all clear, certainly not within the limits of this discourse, nor indeed within any limits. My simple desire is to present what I have to say in a manner which, while the subject itself admits of it and Christianity authorizes it, will tend certainly not to diminish, but to strengthen rather, our conviction of the universal providence of Heaven, helping us to see the same impartial care shown for the moral and religious welfare of man universally, as for his physical well-being. I shall endeavour to keep in the light and under the guidance of plain

principles of Christian truth. Without their aid we cannot hope to elucidate this, or any mystery of our condition.

To ascertain how much religious light nature affords, an obvious method would seem to be, to discharge our minds of all the truth with which Christianity has made us familiar, to transport ourselves into the extra-Christian world, and, taking a position upon which no Christian light falls, see what can be seen from that point of view. But this cannot be done; it is impossible; — for the simple reason that we cannot transport ourselves out of ourselves. From the circumstances of our birth and condition, our minds have received hues which have dyed them through and through, which are indelible, and which must color all our conclusions. By no effort can we rid ourselves of the predilections, — I do not say prejudices, for it is no fault or misfortune, but a positive advantage, that it is so, — the predilections and modes of thinking which our education has wrought into our moral and intellectual structure; and therefore it is impossible for us to go back into the Heathen world, and look at things with eyes unused to Christian light. It has been attempted, we all know, and laborious students have returned from their investigations into the religious attainments of antiquity, and laid before the world results which have been received by those who were of their way of thinking as decisive. And certainly, if great labor and learning alone were necessary, the amount of religious truth possessed by the world before Christ would long ago have been ascertained to the satisfaction of all. But the plain fact is, that such investigations into the religious condition of the old world have always been undertaken and pursued for special purposes and under special biases, — to demonstrate, for instance, either the value of Christianity or the necessity of a revelation. And this is enough to vitiate the conclusions arrived at, though supported by never so many facts. Facts are very valuable. Their veracity is proverbial. Still, how much depends upon the way in which they are looked at, and in which they are used! Of the ambiguous nature of the evidence of facts have we not unnumbered instances? How differently, to mention only one example, is modern English history written by Protestants and Catholics, by individuals of opposite political parties! One sees indubitable tokens of progress in events which to another indicate a retrograde movement. So, if facts or quotations from ancient records are adduced to prove

that without Christ men had no religious light, an equally imposing body of facts may be arrayed in support of a different position. However abundant may be the materials for forming a judgment as to the religious condition of man unassisted by Christianity, their significance must depend upon the principles upon which they are selected and interpreted. And besides, it is, I repeat, impossible to project ourselves into the religious life of the Pagan world, without carrying with us principles and modes of thought, derived from our Christian culture, which must greatly affect our results.

But it is not only impossible, it is so far from being either necessary or desirable to take this method of ascertaining what the light of nature teaches, that we have cause for special self-gratulation in the Christian light which we enjoy. So far from excluding this light from our minds, in order to see what can be seen without it, the more fully we are illuminated by the truth, the more thoroughly we are imbued with the spirit of Christianity, the better shall we be qualified to discover what Natural Religion is. For Christianity, new, original, a revelation, as we believe it to be, is nevertheless a fact in nature and a fact of nature. By no sound principle of thought can it be separated and set apart from this great Nature, whose religious import we seek to ascertain. I use this term, nature, in the most comprehensive sense, as synonymous with the whole of being. I do not see how it can be otherwise used, in an inquiry like the present. Christianity is not only a fact in nature, it is the most luminous fact. It does not lead us away from nature, but leads us into it, into the very centre and heart of it, whence all its light radiates, and where alone we can occupy the true point at which all our inquiries, and our religious inquiries especially, are to be commenced. Christianity sends far and wide its illumination over the whole condition of mankind. Yes, it is the very thing for our present purpose. It gives us the very assistance that we need. The Christian religion is to be prized on all accounts, but on no account is it more truly valuable than for the aid it affords in just such inquiries as this. The teachings of Christ throw a light upon our subject, which comes from no other quarter. I turn, therefore, to Christ to tell us what Natural Religion is, what nature teaches. And in his religion I find the religion of nature, a full revelation of Natural Religion. This Christianity plainly is, whatever else and whatever more it may be represented to be, Natural Religion unveiled.

Let me pray your attention to this representation of it. The religion of Christ is, I say, the interpretation of nature. I do not know precisely what idea of our religion they have who are not disposed to accept this view of it; but it sometimes seems to be thought that Christ invented, created truth, gave existence to his religion, or at least that as a revealer of religion he raised the veil from before mysteries which lie wholly out of the sphere of nature, and which sustain no relation to nature, between which and nature there exist no harmony and no connection. Indeed, some have appeared to think that it is of the first importance to the dignity of Christianity that it should be shown to be *non-natural*. Now to my mind nothing is more clear than that, just so far as this notion is carried, the credibility of Christianity is impaired. If we represent the substance or the form of Christianity, that is, either its principles or its facts, as lying beyond nature, independent of nature, and opposite to it, we lose the means of determining its truth, and we cannot distinguish it from a fiction. We are prepared to believe a thing, — nay, we cannot help believing it, — it has our faith, if we see that it is true. But what do we mean when we say that a thing is true? What is truth? Whatever is is true. Truth, then, must harmonize with truth. For whatever is accords with all else that is. All that is is one. Indestructible ties of relationship, binding together the all of being, run in and through and round all things, from the greatest to the least. There is no such thing as cutting out and insulating a single fact or a single atom from the great sum of being. Whatever is real is in unison with all reality; and to demonstrate the truth of any proposed fact or statement is only, in other words, to show how it agrees with itself and with all acknowledged facts and statements, how it fits into the great sum of things and contributes to the unity and consistency of the whole. Of all truth, religious truth, as the highest truth, must, most especially, be all-related. It must harmonize with all truth, giving evidence to all and receiving it, sending demonstrations of its own reality through every portion, through every fibre of nature. Christianity, therefore, is not, cannot be, what it is sometimes represented, I know not what, an addition, an after-thought, a sudden creation of truth, an invention on the spot. It is a revelation of what is, — of course, of what is in nature, and not of any thing out of nature. It is, in fine, as I have said, the religion of nature.

Look at Christianity, and at every point of view it is luminous with the light of nature. Where else can we find such an illustration of nature, so full and so profound? Observe, in the first place, the manner in which Christian truth is given to the world. It is communicated by natural organs, by a human voice, the voice of Jesus of Nazareth. It is depicted in a natural human life, the life of this same Jesus. So far, manifestly, all is in accordance, all is identical with nature.

When we turn, in the next place, to what Jesus taught, to his definitions of human duty, to his representations of the moral government under which man lives, to the precepts and undisputed truths of the New Testament, there is evident throughout a direct appeal and adaptation to nature, to the nature of man, to natural reason and conscience. So perfectly do the words of Christ correspond with the dictates of our natural sense of things, so clear and instantaneous is the echo of nature to his voice, that we cannot distinguish which is which. It is not he that speaks, but nature, the God of nature, that speaks through him. Here, also, the identity of nature and Christianity is obvious to all eyes.

It is this fact of our religion, by the way, its profound harmony with nature, by which it has fastened itself as with rings of adamant to the heart of the world. Christianity has been disguised, hidden, all but buried, under all manner of errors and corruptions. It would seem as if a blind zeal had stimulated the ingenuity of men to exhaustion to sever Christianity from the affections, from the faith, of mankind. But in the coincidence of the teachings of Jesus and of the human heart, nature and Christianity are too closely bound together, too intimately identified, to suffer any such separation, let ignorance, superstition, and bigotry rage as they please. You may annul the laws which hold the physical creation together, you may break up its foundations, leaving not one stone upon another; but Christianity planted thus in nature, and penetrated and filled throughout with the life of nature, can never be abolished. Heaven and earth may pass away, but that can never pass away. For my own part, — let me be allowed still further to remark in passing, — so strong is my conviction on this point, that I cannot sympathize with the apprehensions of those who, at the first blush of new opinions, new modes of thought and expression, immediately begin to fear for the stability of Chris-

tianity. Through its identity with nature, it has withstood the most cunning assaults in times past, and then, too, when it was much farther from being understood than it is now, when it was most unworthily defined and oftentimes unwisely defended. It has passed with triumph through all difficulties; and all the conflicts in which it has been engaged have resulted in making it better understood, and in showing more clearly its truth. That so it will continue to be, I have not the shadow of a doubt. Understand me; I use the word Christianity in no vague sense, — I am not thinking only of the moral principles of our religion, the precepts of Christ, the Sermon on the Mount. I have in mind also Christianity as a history. I comprehend in my idea of it the facts of the life of Christ, wonderful and unprecedented as many of those facts are. And Christianity, I say, will baffle all attacks and triumph over all opposition, both as a body of moral truth and as an historical fact, because in both respects it holds so closely to nature, and it is nature.

But to return. I was speaking of the identity of Christianity in its moral instructions with nature. In a general way, this identity, as I have said, is obvious to all. But it is not commonly perceived how far it extends. It extends, I venture to assert, to almost every word that fell from the lips of Christ. It is by no means impossible to substantiate this assertion, although it may not be very easy, because Christ expressed himself in a peculiar phraseology, using modes of speech belonging to his country and his time, — a country far remote, a time long past, and a country and a time very peculiar withal; and it requires great care lest we confound the perishable garment of his language with the imperishable body of his thought. We must seek the aid of Biblical Criticism, — a science to which, by the way, this University has made no mean contributions, — in separating what is accidental in the instructions of Christ from what is essential. When this separation is once fairly made, then, I say, it may be seen that almost every declaration that came from the lips of Christ admits of being interpreted as the statement of a natural truth, a truth that lay previously written from all eternity in the nature of things. Take, for instances, almost the very first of his words on the record, the Beatitudes. We have here Jewish forms of language, and Jewish forms of thought even, but essentially these benedictions express facts existing in man's na-

ture. Here we have the natural elements of man's blessedness, the fountains of human happiness as they are in nature. Original as this part of the instructions of Christ is, it is no less natural. So, underneath all peculiarities of language, in every thought expressed by Christ, we may discern the quality and the substance of nature. In short, his teachings are statements of natural facts, the truths of natural religion.

There is one thing taught by Christ which claims particular attention, the immortality of the soul. Is this, it may be asked, a natural fact? Does Nature testify to this truth? Is it written legibly in nature that man is an undying being? Unquestionably it is written there, or it is written nowhere. It stands to reason, — every thing justifies us in saying, that, if man were made to live for ever, the impress of that intention must be distinctly visible in his very structure. Is it possible for us to conceive of a greater difference between any two things in nature, than must be apparent between man formed only for the brief duration of this life, and man considered as an imperishable being? The works of nature are all labelled, not with artificial characters, but with natural marks, wrought by the creative Power into their very constitution. It is the office of science to decipher these marks; and thus the nature and purposes of things are ascertained. So minutely is the purpose of its existence written out in the construction of every thing, every animal and every plant, that from a mere fragment of a fossil bone the practised eye is enabled to discover the whole fashion of the animal to which it belonged, its food, its mode and sphere of existence. It cannot be that the soul of man is made to live for ever, and yet that it shows no trace, gives no hint, of so great a destiny.

But our nature does give signs of its immortality, and if they have been disregarded, it is because men, misled by their senses, have listened for the glad tidings of eternal life, not within, but without. They have asked that some one should return from the grave. They have conceived of the eternal world as situated on the other side of the tomb; and with eyes strained in that direction, they have failed to see that it is here, and now, — that they are in it, and that it is in them. In those affections of our nature which only things eternal can satisfy, — truth, justice, and love, — here is the evidence of our immortality, evidence not cognizable by the

understanding through argument, but apprehended and felt through the exercise and living development of those affections. Christ nowhere formally announces another life. He uniformly takes it for granted. To the question, "What shall I do to inherit eternal life?" he replies by declaring the eternal law of God. "This do," saith he, "and thou shalt *live*," enter into life, eternal life, here and now. Not the portals of the grave, but the love of God and man, — that is the gateway of eternity. As we love God and the right, as we love our neighbour as ourselves, so does this mortal put on immortality, and this corruptible, incorruption.

But further. The truths uttered by Christ are natural, not only in substance, but also in form. Although there is much that is peculiar, much that belongs to his age and nation, still there is a great deal more that belongs to nature in his mode of instruction. Let me pray attention to this consideration. In the fact to which I now refer respecting the teachings of Jesus, it seems to me as if I laid my hand upon the beating heart of Nature, as if I caught the very sound of her breathing.

If the truths uttered by Christ come clad in the costume of a Jewish phraseology, so are they at the same time clothed, under that, in the flesh and blood of Nature. They are expressed in parables, by similitudes. Much is said of the beauty of this characteristic of the teaching of Christ. But is it seen as clearly as it may be seen how the beauty of this mode of instruction all comes from its truth? They are all very beautiful, we say, — these resemblances between the known and the unknown, the visible and the invisible, the physical and the spiritual. But then we do not see, as we may, how truly they exist in nature. We are disposed to regard them, after all, as arbitrary creations of fancy, not real. Now I say that they are real, that there is an actual resemblance between the known and the unknown, that the things which we see are illustrations of the things which we do not see, that the visible signifies and in a manner gives formal and articulate expression to the invisible.

And herein, as in all else, does Christ show himself to be the very Teacher of Nature, — herein is evidence that he was moved by the inspiration of the eternal truth of Nature, — that, being born, as he was, into the spiritual life, having attained to the stature of the beloved Son of God in that life, dwelling, while still in the flesh, in a condition of being as

much exalted above that of other men as heaven is high above the earth, he sought to enlighten us, to give us some glimpses of that higher life, by pointing out such resemblances as exist between that life and this common world with which we are all acquainted. His teachings are never abstract nor abstruse. He invented no new phraseology. He used the ordinary speech of men, and continually does he illustrate the deepest truths by the most familiar facts. Through the known he opens to us the unknown. He directs attention to the most common processes and intimate resemblances between these and the deepest things of nature, the deep things of God. He points to the material creation, and it is no longer opaque, but transparent. We look into it and we look through it, and read the eternal laws of God, flaming in characters not writ with hands.

That the familiar similitudes by which Christ shadows forth to us the religious truths of nature are themselves, as well as the truths they express, matters of fact, — not fanciful, but real, — we are prepared to perceive, when we consider how rational it is to presume beforehand that a resemblance runs through all nature, through all matter and all mind, seeing that all things have proceeded from one Being of absolute perfection. The impress of that wisdom must be stamped upon all things, from the greatest to the least. Let creation be never so diversified, we may still expect that things apparently and actually different will show some likeness ; for they are all of one family, the offspring of one great Cause. All bodies and all spirits are fashioned by one hand ; and if simplicity, for instance, be a quality of perfection, all things that the Perfect One has made will have the attribute of simplicity, and in this respect be alike, if in no other. If the love of harmony characterize the Creator in one department of his works, we may expect to find it in all. Thus we may presume beforehand that all things, differ as they may apparently and essentially, still are similar, each to all and all to each.

But what we suppose beforehand to be the case, we find upon examination to be actually so. So far as the circle of human knowledge extends, there is a pervading analogy. There are great departments of nature, filled with variety, yet exhibiting throughout the closest resemblances ; and all the departments of nature are alike in one respect or another. It is by tracing these resemblances, by classifying in accord-

ance therewith the things with which he becomes acquainted, that man adds to his knowledge. It is through this analogy that genius catches at those splendid conjectures which science toils for years to verify, and which lay bare broad fields of knowledge. Indeed, if this likeness of one thing to another had no existence in nature, where would be the manifestation which we now have of the Divine unity, and how could man ever increase in knowledge? It is safe, then, to presume, in fact we cannot help presuming, that the world of religious truth, which lies indeed wholly out of the sphere of our senses, but wholly within the sphere of Nature, is to be known from the analogy, the likeness, which it bears to this familiar world with which we communicate by our eyes, ears, and hands.

And here again the presumption is justified by the fact. Study the similitudes of Christ, and see that they are not mere fancies, — that they are natural. What a world of bewilderment and wrangling would have been avoided, had the truth of those resemblances which Christ has pointed out been duly marked and reverently appreciated! He compared the progress of religion in the heart to the growth of a plant, and there is a ground for the comparison in the nature of the things compared. Both are gradual, imperceptible. And had men only noted the spiritual significance of the grain, as it grows, from the sowing of the seed to the full corn in the ear, the world would never have been afflicted with the extravagance and folly which have passed for religion.

Again. What a mass of error has gathered round that great fact of nature, the spiritual development of man! and yet how lucid are the brief words of Christ concerning it, — lucid, through the familiar resemblances by which he illustrates it! He calls it first a birth, a being "born again." And when his hearer fails to understand this comparison, he says, — "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again. The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the spirit." As if he had said, — "Wonder not when I tell you, you must be born again, as if it were some incredible thing. Consider the air of heaven. It circulates where it pleases. You hear the sound of it; but you cannot tell whence it comes, or whither it goes. So is it with those who are spiritually

born, who enter upon a higher life than that of the flesh. They breathe in an element which quickens their best affections, a spiritual element, which, like the air to the animal frame, is the breath of life to the soul. We do not need to analyze the air, we do not need to know whence it comes or whither it goes, before we can breathe it and live by it. Neither do we need, in order to be born again, to understand how it is that we are born again. When we no longer live in the flesh and its appetites, but find our life in the intellect and the heart, in single obedience to the truth, then, as we know the wind by its blowing, we know that there is a life-giving power in nature like the air, the life-breath of that new condition of being upon which we have entered."

Yet again. When under the similitude of a human parent Christ shadows forth an idea of the Supreme Being which inspires us with the glad confidence of children in a father, there is a likeness between the human sign and Him who is signified thereby. But here we must be careful. The reason why men shrink from all comparison of things human and Divine is, that these comparisons have been carried too far, and pressed too literally and in false directions; and the great God of the world has been belittled by being likened to this insect-creature, this shred, this shadow of existence, man. Infinite, infinite is the distance between us and God. Who that casts a glance into the immeasurable expanse overhead,— who that reads of the overwhelming discoveries of the telescope,— who that looks into his own bosom, and sees how far, far below the sacred idea of absolute right he grovels, does not know that God is infinitely exalted above him? The Divine nature is a stupendous mystery. We can trace no outline of it. It is a dark, impenetrable deep. Still, in that affection which prompts us to love, in the parental affection especially, we have a dim signification of God himself. I make no vainglorious boast; I arrogate nothing for man. This affection of the heart is no creation of man's. It does not depend upon his will. It comes directly from God, as surely as the earth on which we stand. And in parental love we may recognize, as Christ bids us, the living inspiration of the Incomprehensible Spirit. As it is from God, we may know by it, in one respect, what manner of being God is. As in the vast appearances of the physical world we see similitudes, inadequate indeed, but yet real, of Omnipotence, so in parental love we behold a faint and yet a blessed like-

ness of the Infinite Goodness; and we are no longer atoms of unregarded dust, to be blown away into nothingness by the blind storm of a resistless fate; but we are children, at home, reposing, in our weakness and even in our sins, in our deepest guilt and in our utmost wretchedness, upon the bosom of Everlasting Mercy.

Once more. The resemblance which Christ points out between the inhabitants of the heavenly kingdom, the everlasting world, and little children, is a matter, not of fancy, but of fact. The theology which swathes man from his very birth in a total and hereditary corruption has hidden from us the unearthly likeness which childhood wears. For my own part, receiving Christ as the Teacher of eternal truth, I feel bound to look with reverence upon the young, if for no other reason than because I believe that he declared that "of such is the kingdom of heaven." Even though my dim eyes could trace no distinct resemblance between the dwellers in the kingdom of God and little children, I should believe, upon this great authority, that the resemblance exists. But I can trace it distinctly enough to see, that, if we would learn what saints and angels are, we must study the young. Who is not ready to pardon the idolatry of the Roman Catholic Church, when he considers how, in bringing the warlike nations of Europe to bow before the image of the Virgin and her child, it breathed the holiest spirit of Nature and of Christ, and taught those barbarous tribes to do homage to the purity of woman, to the divinity of parental love, and the angel innocence of infancy?

I would not make any indiscriminate claim for childhood. I do not deny that children do wrong, that they disregard and violate the plain convictions of their consciences, even as we do. But then their sins are manifestly the sins of healthy and most excellent natures; and there is more of hope — there is less of guilt even — in their sins than there is in the artificial, boastful virtues of those who are their elders, and are falsely termed their betters. How artless is childhood even in its arts! How transparent! How easily seen through! When wisely dealt with, children shed the purest tears of penitence that are ever shed on earth. And how full of trust is early childhood! The child lives and moves and has its being in eternity. It knows nothing of the beginning of life, or of its ending.

"A simple child
That lightly draws its breath,

And feels its life in every limb,
What can it know of death ?"

"Over it immortality broods like the day." But, above all, how absolute and uncompromising and godlike is a child's sense of right ! He recognizes no limitations to the law of duty. He knows not policy, until he learns it from the evil practices of the world. Repeat to a child the immortal lessons of peace and love which Christ uttered, and he instantly recognizes the very commandments of God, and asks, "Why, then, do men go to war ? Why do they ill-treat and enslave one another ?" With a terrible fidelity of application, he turns your instructions directly upon you, and demands, since such is God's law, why you do thus and so. Children cannot understand, until the world teaches them, how any necessity should interfere to render entire obedience impossible.

In all these respects we may distinguish in them the features of a "race of heaven," and learn the deep significance of the command which requires us all to become like little children. Soon, very soon, by our worldliness, by our cowardly compromises, we drag them down from the lofty position which they occupy. Much as is said and done about the instruction, the moral and religious instruction, of the young, it seems to me sometimes that the world is in nothing more busily engaged than in corrupting every child that comes into it. It compels the young to cast away as impracticable abstractions the plainest monitions of duty. It hides from them the wickedness of war by its vain talk about "famous victories." It dazzles their eyes with the gaudy trappings of the soldier. It hardens them to the deadly wrong which man inflicts on man, by pleading the way of the world, and a system of things which not God, but man, has devised. And so their wings are clipped, and they are made creatures of earth like ourselves. If we reverenced childhood as we should, if we distinguished in it the lineaments of the higher life, we should sit like children low at its feet, and the established relation of teachers and children would be reversed, and with the religious poet of our age, the parent would exclaim to his child : —

"O dearest, dearest child, my heart
For better lore would seldom yearn,
Could I but teach the hundredth part
Of what from thee I learn."

As it is, amidst the thick steaming corruptions of the world, it is childhood that still keeps some sweetness in it. Though the young soon alight upon the earth, and become earthly like us, yet for a space they hover over us, like angelic ministrants, fanning with white wings the fevered brain of many a sinning man and woman, and sending purifying beams of blessed light in upon our stained and hardened hearts. Even in their inarticulate helplessness, when they first make their appearance here, what springs of tenderness do they cause to break forth in human bosoms! How mighty is their coming! Like the angel at Bethesda, they stir the fountain of life, dark with the surrounding shadows of sin, and instantly it receives a healing efficacy. Whether they come or depart, their ministry is alike powerful. Their departure, like their coming, sheds a celestial influence through the whole household, like the broken box of precious perfume poured by Mary upon the head of Jesus. Said not Christ truly, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven"? Is not the resemblance here indicated existing in the reality of things?

And so it is with all the similitudes of Christ. They are not arbitrary, but true. Thus truth is communicated to us by nature's own method, showing us the unknown through the known. Employing Christ's organs of speech, Nature syllabled her before-unuttered truths through his lips, and his voice is the very voice of Nature, and he is the everlasting Word of God.

So far the identity of Christianity with Nature will not be questioned. And if Christianity consisted only in the teachings of the New Testament, if these were the whole of it, then it would be universally seen to be a Natural Religion, emphatically the Religion of Nature, and to the New Testament all would turn who seek to know what Nature teaches. But there is another part of Christianity, as truly vital to it as the precepts of Jesus, — the miraculous part of it. Here the presence of Nature is not discerned; but not because it is not clearly discernible here, under one aspect at least; but because, growing out of the mechanical theory of nature, a theory of the miracles has gained credence, which demands that this part of Christianity should be regarded as a positive departure from nature, and maintains, that, unless it is so regarded, Christianity has no claim to the authority of a revelation. It is interesting to remark, that, earnestly as the

idea is upheld that the miracles of Christ interrupt the established order of things, it is also explicitly admitted, that, inasmuch as the miracles were wrought for great moral and religious ends, they harmonize with the highest ends, the highest order of nature; and thus it is confessed in part that the supernatural in Christianity corresponds with the natural.

But I have no desire, nor is it essential to my present purpose, to enter upon debatable ground. I wish only to express my deliberate and very deep conviction, that the prevalent theory of the miracles to which I have referred is as unscriptural as it is unphilosophical. It comes, as I have intimated, from that mechanical theory of nature, of which the Scriptures know absolutely nothing, and which, as Dugald Stewart remarks, assumes for the explanation of nature the mechanical forces which are the very things to be explained. This theory of the universe has been assumed so confidently, and pushed so far, that all sacredness has vanished out of nature, and we have here around us only a great machine; and the melancholy, but not surprising, spectacle is presented, of men of science frequently, and of astronomers especially, great astronomers, astronomers, who should be of all men the most devout, falling into the folly of irreligion, into the madness of atheism. Not so, not so was it with the holy men whose thoughts still breathe and whose words still burn on the pages of the Bible. In their eyes all things shone and blazed with the Divine Presence, and all nature was supernatural. To them every plain conviction of their own consciences was a direct revelation from God, a "Thus saith the Lord," and to them likewise all revelation was natural; there was nothing else so profoundly natural, so clearly in harmony with nature.

I turn to that aspect of the supernatural in Christianity, which, as I just now remarked, is indisputably natural. Look at the miracles of Christ in their relation to him personally. In this connection, extraordinary as they are, and lying, as they do, far out of the range of human experience, I see in them the unveiled face, I seem to penetrate into the inmost spirit of Nature. That the miracles of Christ are his, his acts, will not be disputed by any who profess to believe in their reality. They were, in an obvious sense, wrought by him. As his acts, then, they may be viewed as illustrations of his personal character, expressions of his spirit; and as such they are one with him, just as the branches, the flowers,

and fruits of a plant are one with its root. Look at the record now, and tell me, did Christ breathe more naturally than he healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, and raised the dead? It is saying very little, to say, that, in the doing of these things, he exhibits nothing of the manner of a vulgar wonder-worker. I know not where else to look for so fine an illustration of the simplicity and majesty of Nature. Here we may behold the express image of the God of Nature. Never does Christ speak and act more manifestly from a consciousness of native power than when he is doing these great works, and yet the heavens above us are not more serene. It has been said that the miracles of Christ are not to be thought much of because *he* did not think much of them; as if this very circumstance, that he did not think much of them, — that he never wondered at them, nor was moved by the wonder of excited multitudes to imagine that he had done any thing very surprising, — as if this very fact did not reveal the truth of his miracles, and stamp them as the choicest productions of Nature; for when was Nature ever caught pausing to admire herself, to wonder at the achievements of her own power? In fine, I can no otherwise and no better characterize the greatness of Christ as a doer of miracles, than by saying that in this respect he is perfectly natural.

But what manner of man was this, that even disease and death obeyed him? He stands alone, distinguished from all mankind by the original gifts of his nature. There has never been any other endowed like him. But then it does not follow, by any means, that the existence of such a being is a departure from nature. I hold, on the contrary, that such a creation is in perfect accordance with the whole spirit, genius, and order of nature, that it is a natural fact. Nature has no law that forbids the appearance of a being possessing we know not what new and extraordinary power. There is no natural order that must be broken through to admit such a being into existence. On the contrary, even geology teaches us, that it is the grand tendency of Nature to improve upon her own productions. By what tremendous throes, confounding land and sea, has the solid globe been rent, that man might appear, man, this wonder of creation, who comes crowned with glory, bearing the sceptre of time and space, and covered with the insignia of universal dominion! Do we not see and know that the whole creation groaneth and trav-

aileth together in pain, waiting for the manifestation of the sons of God?

But if this way of thinking should become general, if men are taught to believe that it is the purpose of Nature to unfold we know not what power through human nature, we shall have individuals, you say, rising up and laying claim to all sorts of extravagant gifts. Very possibly. But it does not follow, because such claims are preferred, and because all religions pretend to miracles, that these pretensions must be admitted. Still Nature has her own inimitable way of doing things. And so long as Nature is distinguishable from art and from artifice, we shall have the means of determining in regard to all miracles, past, present, and to come, whether they be true or false. We have a test, the test of Nature; and the miracles of Jesus stand this test. They challenge comparison with the acknowledged works of God, with the sun, moon, and stars. They are connected by a living, natural tie with the godlike character of Christ. And they are not only in full unison with that, they are essential to its completeness, which they could not be, — there would be an utter incongruity between them and the sublime being of Jesus, — were they either fables or frauds.

Thus have I attempted to harmonize Natural and Revealed Religion, — to identify Christianity as the religion of Nature, not only in its principles, but also in its history, its form. If the attempt should seem to be a bold one, let its boldness find some extenuation in the fact, that I have tried to loosen the knot, not by cutting, but by untying it. The tendency of the view which I have presented is not to shake, but to confirm, faith in Christianity as an historical fact, inasmuch as it summons all Nature as a witness to its historical truth. And it is important, not merely for the sake of persons, which is a matter of small moment comparatively, but for the simple sake of truth, that the method of reconciling Nature and Revelation now proposed should not be confounded with the summary method which they adopt who make Christianity natural by lopping off the supernatural from it at a blow. With this mode of proceeding, so congenial to the historical skepticism of the day, the method of harmonizing Nature and Christianity now suggested is so far from agreeing, that it asks your attention as affording an impregnable defence of historical Christianity against that short way of

solving all difficulty, which so many now-a-days are inclined to adopt.

But this is not all that it does. By establishing Christianity as a fact in the course of nature, as the one all-enlightening, all-harmonizing fact, it baptizes and consecrates the whole philosophy of nature in the name of Christianity. Opposed to the mechanical system, which either renders the miracles incredible, or puts them aside as anomalies and exceptions, it demands the construction of a new, spiritual, Christian theory of nature, the life of Christ being the chief corner-stone. And the immeasurable universe is no longer a great workshop, crowded with machinery, but the house of prayer, the gate of heaven.

Turning now to Christianity as the point whence the full light of nature comes, we find, as I said at the outset, that it illuminates the whole condition of mankind. You can as easily confine the natural light of the sun within limits, as inclose within any boundaries the illumination of Christianity. It unites with all the other lights of nature to show us that all men of every age and clime are in communication with an all-ministering spirit of truth and goodness, free, universal as the light and wind of heaven, under all forms of religion, and at every stage in the history of man, brooding over the human soul, warming, quickening, and unfolding it into life. This same fact may be expressed in many different ways; but under all forms of speech, it remains one and the same, namely, that to every human being, by virtue of his being human, all the religion is possible which is necessary. This Christianity implies and takes for granted throughout. Christ addressed himself to an ignorant and narrow-minded people, inflamed by the coarsest imaginations, enslaved by the strongest prejudices, and yet he spoke of justice, and mercy, and purity of heart, as of things of which his hearers already had familiar apprehension. He appealed to good men and true, not doubting that there were such, and to whatsoever of truth and goodness existed in the most depraved. In all he saw some religious life. And he declared again and again, in various modes of speech, that he that doeth the will of God, so far as that will is known to him, possesses and improves, by natural consequence, the faculty of distinguishing truth and falsehood. And when we are enlightened by Christianity, when we are in sympathy with Christ, we instantly perceive, of a truth, that, as in

every nation men may fear God and work righteousness, so "in every nation every man who does fear God and work righteousness is accepted with him." By its letter and its spirit, Christianity brings us straight to this conclusion. To this conclusion, in so many words, the Apostle Peter came, and he was a Jew. From his birth, all things had combined to impress deeply upon him the religious belief, that his own people were the only people that God cared for, that all other nations were outcasts, dogs in the comparison, that it was unlawful for him even to eat with them. And yet he came to see that God careth for all, for the whole family of man. It is true, he was very slow in coming to it; and after the direct personal intercourse he had had with Jesus of Nazareth, after all the lessons of love and charity to which he had listened, after all that he had seen of that life and death of love, after the ineffable sacredness which must have been poured like a halo round the idea of Christ by the awful fact of his resurrection, after the Apostle had been for some time engaged in the discharge of his apostolic office, he still, after all this, doubted whether it were right for him to eat with a man of another nation. But the truth rose upon him at last, and he beheld a gracious Providence watching over the whole world. That it was so long and slow in dawning upon him only shows what an Egyptian darkness of Jewish pride rested on his mind; while the fact that the truth did break upon him at last shows how mighty the spirit of Christianity is, and how pointedly it teaches, how strongly it breathes, the universal love of God.

But it may be asked, Why, if the full light of religious truth shines only in Christ, — if he first revealed the complete religion of Nature,— why was this revelation so long withheld? Why is it not now universal as the light of day? I reply, that, if Christianity be recognized as a fact, we must permit Providence, without questioning on our part, to fulfil its purposes at its own times and in its own ways. I cannot entertain any questions concerning the fitness of the time of Christ's appearance in the world. But if I were to ask any questions of this sort, I should wonder that Christ came so soon, rather than that he came so late. For here we are, well advanced into the nineteenth century of the Christian era, and around the cross, that symbol of the patient endurance and divine forgiveness of injuries, great nations, calling themselves Christian, stand armed to the teeth, and covered

with human blood. For ages the simple Christian principle of human brotherhood has been proclaimed, and yet at this very hour this great Christian empire stands with blood-stained sword in hand, and with foot planted on the neck of the African, and invokes the sanctities of religion and law to vindicate the wrong. Why talk we of our Christian light? "He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness *even until now*, and walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth, because the darkness hath blinded his eyes." I repeat, if we find any difficulty about the time of Christ's coming, we may well wonder why he came so early, not why he came so late, seeing that his religion is not yet understood, not yet received, not yet, properly speaking, given. But all wonder is out of place, except at the unutterable bounty of God. For since Christianity came in the course of nature and of Providence, as to raising any questions about its place in that course, — we might as well ask why the fruit does not come before the blossom, or the blossom before the stem. Truth is given to men in as full measure and as fast as they are able to receive it. To those who have is given. And this principle, which Christ himself taught, is illustrated in the appearance of Christianity itself, which came as soon as there were only the fewest prepared to appreciate it, and the Christian religion is a fact and an era and a step in the natural progress and development of mankind.

All the confusion of thought that exists in relation to the limited diffusion of Christian light arises from the radical error of supposing that the culture of the understanding precedes the culture of the heart, that there must be religious knowledge before there can be religious life. Directly the reverse is the course of nature. And directly the reverse is most explicitly taught by Christ. The child's heart is touched by the beaming looks of maternal love before one ray has penetrated to his reason, and it is through the heart that the understanding is rendered active and becomes enlightened. If it is true that they who see God become pure in heart, it is first true that the pure in heart see God. The language of Christ is, not "if any man knows, he will do," but "if any man will *do*, he shall know." "He that doeth truth cometh to the light." Doing the truth is to come to the light. Through the inversion of this great evangelical principle, Christianity has been first and chiefly

regarded as an intellectual light, as a system of abstract truth, — in a word, as a creed, written or unwritten, and not as a spirit of life, — which it is, the breathing of God, quickening the life that is in man and so kindling light. And Christ is everywhere represented as if he came, not first to inspire the world with the love and life of righteousness, but to promulgate certain doctrines. Now I say that Christianity is not a form of worship, nor a form of words, nor a form of thought even, but a spirit and a life. Christ taught no doctrines, in the ordinary sense of the word. By a doctine is commonly understood something which is only to be *believed*, and in the belief of which there is a religious value, apart from all relation to life. With doctrines thus defined, with articles of mere faith, Christ had nothing whatever to do. The term doctrine, as it occurs in our common version of the New Testament, may be exchanged for "teaching" or "instruction" in all cases, I believe, without injury to the sense, and in some instances with advantage to it. It is true, Christ required men to have faith in him, but it was faith of such a sort that he said, — "He that believeth in me believeth not in me, but in Him that sent me." It was faith in God, in right, which is the life of life. Christ did not live to establish a creed, but he came and spoke words which were spirit. And brief as was his stay on earth, he told his friends that he must depart to give room for the true spirit, which was already in them, and which would lead them into the knowledge of all things.

Accepting Christianity in this character, we may see, that under all forms of language and religion, amidst the thickest clouds of barbarism and in the lowest depths of moral degradation, religious life, if not actual, is possible, — that wherever a spirit of goodness breathes ever so faintly and fitfully, religion is there, — nay, that there may be, that there is, "a soul of good in things evil." However confused may be the thoughts of the mind, the "law of the spirit of life" may be illustrated in the heart. — In the vicinity of the city where I reside stands one of the most splendid edifices in the land, devoted to the protection and education of the orphan children of the State of Pennsylvania. This institution has been built by the fortune, and bears the name, of one whose long life was a steady course of rare commercial success. By his last will, devoting his immense wealth to the unprotected, he directed that there should be no relig-

ious instruction given to the objects of his munificent charity. How a community professing Christianity and religion could accept the trust under such a condition, I have never been able clearly to see. But this by the way; I wish here merely to remark that the testator has evidently sought to exclude religion altogether from his college for orphans. And it would seem that he regarded religion as a morbid affection, a disease, and a disease so contagious withal that he orders in his will that no minister of religion, of any name or denomination, shall be permitted to set foot within the precincts of the institution. That he greatly erred, that he was all in the dark in his ideas of religion, I believe. But however vague and erroneous may have been the perceptions of his understanding, we see that he was animated by a great humane purpose; and that magnificent structure stands there, illustrating the very words of the New Testament where it saith that "to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction" is one of the first great offices of "pure and undefiled religion." We have reason to believe that Stephen Girard was inspired with the idea of being a father to the fatherless. To the realization of his idea he consecrated his wealth, and thus the life of religion, the spirit of Christianity, was manifested in him.

Christianity has been made the occasion of the bitterest exclusiveness, but wholly without reason; for if there is any one thing for which we should most especially prize it, it is, that, shedding upon us the full light of nature and of truth, it shows us all mankind included under one great religious denomination to which all other denominations are subordinate, as brethren of one family, members of one immortal household, whose head and whose Father is God.

Art. IV.—DR. PAYSON AND HIS WRITINGS.*

It is now within a few months of twenty years since Dr. Payson's death. One of the most distinguished ministers

---

* *Memoir, Select Thoughts, and Sermons of the late Rev. Edward Payson, D. D., Pastor of the Second Church in Portland.* Compiled by Rev. Asa Cummings, Editor of the Christian Mirror. Portland: Hyde, Lord, & Duren. 1846. 3 vols. 8vo. pp. 606, 608, 608.

of his day, he is still remembered with gratitude and affection by many who attended on his preaching and enjoyed the benefit of his pastoral care. A shining light in the church here below, many friendly eyes now gaze, reverent and delighted, at his star in the heavens. Not long after his decease a volume of his sermons was published. Two years later, a highly interesting and instructive memoir of him appeared. This was soon followed by a second and third volume of sermons; and these by a miniature volume of his "Thoughts," prepared for the press by his daughter. These are all now published, with several important additions, in three large volumes, of uniform size and appearance. The numerous friends of Dr. Payson cannot fail to be gratified with the indication, which the call for this beautiful edition of his Life and Works affords, of the grateful remembrance in which he is still held by the religious community, and of the stability of his well-earned reputation as a Christian minister. And even those who were strangers to him, and who find little in his posthumous writings to awaken either their sympathy or their admiration, will be pleased at the evidence which the appearance of these volumes furnishes, that the labors of a faithful and self-denying minister are not speedily forgotten; and that long after his voice is silent, he may continue to speak, in acceptable words, to his fellowmen. We welcome the publication in its present form as an interesting and valuable contribution to our religious literature. Though differing widely from the theological views which they present, we welcome the sermons as affording a good sample of the Calvinistic preaching in New England twenty or thirty years ago; and, though the reading of it has filled us with a profound melancholy, we welcome the Memoir as a well-written, candid, and authentic history of a life sincerely devoted to the work of the ministry, and for many remarkable traits deserving particular attention. We think we may render a service to many of our readers, into whose hands the Memoir is not likely to fall, by giving them here some account of the life, and especially of the religious experience, of this eminent divine.

Edward Payson was born at Rindge, New Hampshire, July 25, 1783. His father was the minister of that town; one of the strong men of his generation; much and widely respected; an astute theologian; a man, we infer, of austere manners, but fervent piety; and withal, a faithful, exemplary,

and revered pastor. His mother, of the same family name, was a woman of uncommon qualifications for the position she was called to occupy. With a well-cultivated mind and a heart naturally rich in sweet affections, which were purified into heavenly loveliness by the discipline of Providence and the grace of the holy spirit, she was admirably fitted to be the religious guide of her children, to train their hearts to the love of virtue, and to instruct them in "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven." And this her appointed duty appears to have been also her favorite work. Edward was admitted to her intimate and most unreserved confidence. The depths of her heart, where Jehovah was enshrined, lay open to his eye. And to this maternal love he returned a reverence the most profound, a docility the most filial, an affection the most simple, which continued, not merely through the years of his youth, but, with increasing beauty, through those of his mature life, till the end of her days. From his earliest childhood his mother looked on him fondly and hopefully, solicitous for the cultivation of his mind and his future respectability, but much more that he might be a child of God; and not failing to make her solicitude holy by baptizing it with her prayers. All her thoughts, instructions, plans, hopes, had reference to this single end. And not wholly in vain, it would seem; for he early gave signs of a serious disposition; became inquisitive concerning the facts of religion; "was more or less affected by his condition as a sinner"; "never," as his intimate friends had reason to believe, "neglected secret prayer while a resident in his father's family"; and "by consent of all sustained the reputation of a magnanimous, honorable, generous youth." And we do not hesitate to add, the doubts of others and the sin of Adam to the contrary notwithstanding, that he was a *religious* youth; and his sagacious mother, it seems, thought so too. But his father had a different rule of judging, and demanded more evidence. He could not think of conferring on him the advantages of a public education till better satisfied on this point. "To give you a liberal education while destitute of religion," said he, "would be like putting a sword into the hands of a madman!" Rather sharp language, considering how good a boy Edward was! But the father was resolute. He could not send his son to college till he should give some better "evidence"; and so he was kept waiting and waiting, "till he was fitted to join the Sopho-

more class; when, all objections *being waived*, he entered Harvard College, at an advanced standing, at the Commencement in 1800, about the time he completed his seventeenth year." It is well to bear in mind that up to this time the desires of his father had not been gratified. Edward had given no sufficient evidence of an interest in religion; although "his mother, in subsequent years, was inclined to the belief that he was converted in childhood."

In college young Payson did not particularly distinguish himself, but maintained a good standing. At his first appearance there, "you would have taken him," writes a classmate, "for an unpolished country lad, exceedingly modest, unassuming, and reserved in his manners." He was "a great reader"; not neglecting his lessons, however, in order to lounge in the library, or to acquire by books foreign to his regular studies what is called "general information"; which commonly means a little of every thing, without value. Towards the latter part of his course, he rose much in the estimation of the government and of his classmates, appearing to them "a young man of correct morals, amiable disposition, and respectable talents." With this reputation he received his first degree, his character retaining all the simplicity and pureness that belonged to it before he left the calm seclusion of Rindge and the hallowing influences of his father's house. He has passed the ordeal of the university without harm to his moral nature; and honorably enough, though without marked distinction, as a scholar. He has completed his course; but is he yet converted? His ever-vigilant father can see no sufficient "evidence"; and his fond mother is obliged to fall back upon the hopes of his childhood, and find her comfort in remembering that "he often wept under the preaching of the gospel at three years old," and in other indications, to us far more convincing, that from his cradle he had been in the family of God, sanctified from his birth, and religious as soon as he began to comprehend what religion meant. Her maternal insight, guided by affection and memory, penetrated where she could not easily carry the gauge of her creed, to the salient elements of his soul, now grown strong and manly, and in their earliest visible expression perceived traces of heavenly beauty, of a divine life.

Graduating at the Commencement in 1803, Mr. Payson was immediately engaged to take the charge of an academy

then recently established in Portland, — the theatre, as it proved, of his future labors, trials, and successes as a Christian minister. In this vocation he remained for the space of three years, discharging its duties conscientiously, with considerable skill, and, on the whole, "sustaining a good reputation as an instructer." During the first part of this engagement, our attention is drawn to the fact, that he entered with a good deal of interest into the refined pleasures of social life; enjoyed visiting; was himself very agreeable as a companion; and "indulged in such amusements as were considered reputable, if not orthodox, with a gust as exquisite as their most hearty devotee." This course, however, came at length to be regarded by himself as unsuitable to one looking forward to the ministry as a profession; whilst, doubtless, it afforded to many others ample proof that he had no true life in him. Turning from this course somewhat abruptly, he passed at once to the opposite extreme; withdrew wholly from company; dreaded an invitation to a social party; loved solitariness; became silent, abstracted, anxious, and much devoted to religious exercises. And here is seen, we think, the beginning of that change in his feelings and in the habits of his life, which in its progress made him by turns the most wretched and the happiest of men; which gave him one day wormwood and gall to drink, and the next pure water from the fountains of heaven, — a change, as much as any that occurs in life, self-induced, and yet, viewed in the light of its consequences, eminently providential.

But notwithstanding this change, there was one spot, one circle, out of himself and yet a part of himself, which he did not give up, and could not forget. Thither from his serious studies "beautiful regards" were constantly turned. Still streamed forth towards the sweet and genial home of his childhood affections, simple and fresh as in earlier days, to enliven his self-imposed retirement, and tinge with the soft glow of humanity the shadows of his cloistered religion. Blessed affections, how near divine! How pure and bright they burn in the golden morning, how calm and holy they burn on in the shady evening, of life, when other ties are riven, and sympathies are chilled, and little is left for the heart but home and heaven! O, forbid them not a place in the sanctuary of religion! there let them abide, serving-priests of a father-God who calls man his child and heaven

the Father's house. Of all the traits of Mr. Payson's extraordinary character, none pleases us more than the juvenile tenderness and tenacity of affection with which he clings to the old homestead at Rindge and the happy family he had left there; his strong and gushing filial and fraternal love, unchanged amidst all trials, in joy or sorrow never disturbed, never for a moment chilled. The letters written by him to his venerable parents, and to a sister deservedly dear to him, are among the most agreeable memorials of him which these volumes present. Those to his parents, particularly, are written with that felicitous union of deference and familiarity, respect and freedom, sobriety and playfulness, delicacy of sentiment and unreserved frankness of expression, which are the charm of that kind of correspondence. Did our space permit, we should gladly enrich our pages with many of these letters. We have room, however, but for one or two, which we select, not as the best specimens by any means, but as best illustrating his general character.

"February 9, 1806.

"You need be under no apprehension, my dear mother, that my present mode of living will render the manner of living in the most rustic parish disagreeable. On the contrary, I shall be glad of the exchange, as it respects diet; for I find it no easy matter to sit down to a table profusely spread with dainties, and eat no more than nature requires and temperance allows. And I should take infinitely more satisfaction in the conversation of a plain, unlettered Christian, than in the unmeaning tattle of the drawing-room, or the flippant vivacity of professed wits. What gives me most uneasiness, and what I fear will always be a thorn in my path, is too great a thirst for applause. When I sit down to write, I perpetually catch myself considering, not what will be most useful, but what will be most likely to gain praise from an audience. If I should be unpopular, it would, I fear, give me more uneasiness than it ought; and if — though I think there is little reason to fear it — I should in any degree be acceptable, what a terrible blaze it would make in my bosom! What a temptation this will be to suppress, or lightly touch upon, those doctrines which are most important, because they are disagreeable to most persons! I should at once give up in despair, had I nothing but my own philosophy to depend upon; but I hope and trust I shall be enabled to conquer it." — Vol. I. pp. 33, 34.

"April 2, 1806.

"My dear Mother, — I have just received your last paquet, and am so rejoiced I can hardly sit still enough to write. They

were not half long enough to satiate me, and I am more hungry than before. Yesterday, in order to appease my hunger, I read over all the letters I have received this year past, to my great satisfaction. You must not expect method nor legible writing. These qualifications are necessary in a billet of compliments, but in a letter to friends I despise them. However, if my good friends are fond of them, and prefer them to the rapid effusions of affection that will hardly wait the pen's motion, I will soon write a letter that shall be as cold and as splendid as an ice-palace. You may usually observe my handwriting is much better at the beginning than at the end of my letters; and this happens because I gather warmth as I write. A letter to a friend written with exact care is like — 'Madam, I hope I have the pleasure of seeing you in very good health' — addressed to a mother on meeting her after a year's absence." — Vol. I. pp. 34, 35.

In another letter he speaks of a classmate, who had commenced preaching, calling to see him and relating that an old and very pious tutor, having lately lost a much-loved wife, while the bell was tolling for her funeral wrote to a friend, — "The bell is now tolling for my wife's funeral; yet I am happy, happy beyond expression." This, his classmate remarked, "was a sure proof of a very weak or very insensible mind." Upon which Mr. Payson observes of his classmate, — "It is needless to add, that he is an Arminian"; and proceeds, "I daily see more occasion to be convinced that the Calvinistic scheme is, must be, right, but I cannot wonder so few embrace it. *So long as the reasonings of the head continue to be influenced by the feelings of the heart, the majority will reject it.*" We think so, too; and do not fear to assert that the fact admitted in the last sentence quoted weighs a thousandfold more against the Calvinistic scheme than the happiness of the good old tutor under the loss of his wife in its favor.

The three years of Mr. Payson's preceptorship at Portland constitute a very important part of his life, being the part in which his views and feelings took that especial form which determined the course of his future action, and fixed the peculiar color and tone of his efforts as a minister. Having made choice of his profession, and being impressed by the contemplation of its great responsibilities, an evident change, as we have seen, came over him. From a blameless, calm, good-tempered, social young man, agreeable in all circles, he became solemn, retired, contemplative, averse

to social intercourse, spending most of his time, when not employed in school, in trying to digest the tough and stringy theology of the Calvinists, in lamenting his inability to bring his heart into conformity and subjection to that standard of faith, in bewailing the hideous depravity which he discovered in himself, and which became more appalling the more he exerted himself to overcome it, and in solitary, trembling, wrestling — sometimes, too, rapturous — prayers; exercises which, with the intensity he gave to them, produced an unhealthy excitement of his nervous system, disturbed the equilibrium of his physical and moral powers, and laid the foundation for that unnatural, irregular, spasmodic religious action, which rendered him at times the most wretched of men, and which resulted in his premature death.

The friends of Dr. Payson have never been able — and this has perplexed them not a little — to satisfy themselves as to the exact date of his conversion. Neither the day, the month, nor the year are they agreed in. His beloved mother, as we have seen, hoped he had been born again in early childhood; others thought that the death of a brother soon after he went to Portland, which affected him deeply, might have been the selected occasion; his room-mate, since a minister of the gospel, thinks that "he experienced religion before entering college, but, owing to his peculiar situation while there, became a backslider"; and another classmate, "whose speculative views of religion are supposed to differ from those of his departed friend," believes that "the important change took place gradually, not from any sudden or overpowering impressions." In this last opinion we fully concur. We have no doubt that the change, if such it should be called, began at the moment when he finally resolved to become a minister; that from that time he became more addicted to religious reading and theological study and impassioned prayer; that, as the months wore away, his interest in religion grew absorbing; the conflicts between his natural sensibilities and tastes on the one side, and his doctrinal belief on the other, strenuous and bitter; his self-condemnation and inward agony for sin, more and more severe; and his communion with Christ and God, — borne upward on the wings of a swift and eagle-eyed imagination, — often sweet, fervent, enrapturing, — the beatitude of exultant piety.

On the first of September, 1805, about two years pre-

vious to his settlement in the ministry, Mr. Payson made a public profession of religion, uniting himself with the church in Rindge, while on a visit at his father's, during one of his quarterly vacations. Some idea may be formed of the exercises, struggles, fears, hopes, and rejoicings which he experienced in this pregnant epoch of his life, by a few quotations from his correspondence and diary. In a letter to his mother, bearing date April 20, 1805, he writes: —

"What a disgrace to me, that, with such rare and inestimable advantages, I have made no greater progress! However, thanks to the fervent, effectual prayers of my righteous parents, and the tender mercies of my God upon me, I have reason to hope that the pious wishes breathed over my infant head are in some measure fulfilled; nor would I exchange the benefits which I have derived from my parents for the inheritance of any monarch in the universe. I feel inclined to hope that I am progressing, though by slow and imperceptible degrees, in the knowledge of divine things." — Vol. I. pp. 46, 47.

October 29, he wrote: —

"These wordly comforts are nothing to the serenity and peace of mind with which I am favored, and the happiness arising from love, gratitude and confidence."

Some weeks after this: —

"I did not intend to say another word about my feelings; but I must, or else cease writing. I am so happy, that I cannot possibly think nor write of any thing else. Such a glorious, beautiful, consistent scheme for the redemption of such miserable wretches! Such infinite love and goodness joined with such wisdom! I would, if possible, raise my voice so that the whole universe, to its remotest bounds, might hear me, if any language could be found worthy of such a subject." — Vol. I. p. 51.

Yet within a few days we find him saying: —

"Though I have experienced many and great comforts, yet I am at times almost discouraged. My heart seems to be a soil so bad, that all labor is thrown away upon it; for, instead of growing better, it grows worse. What a wearisome task, or rather, conflict, it is, to be always fighting with an enemy whom no defeats can weaken or tire!" — Vol. I. p. 59.

Again: —

"I know not what to do. On one hand, the arguments in favor of Calvinism are strong; and, what is more to the point, I feel that most of them must be true; and yet there are difficulties, strong

difficulties, in the way. I care very little about them as it concerns myself; but to think that so many of mankind must be miserable *strikes me with disagreeable feelings.*" — Vol. I. p. 55.

Disagreeable feelings! Mr. Payson was young then, — his Calvinism in the gristle; let it harden a few years, and then see how complacently the eternal misery of "so many of mankind" will be viewed.

"I wonder not," he adds, "that the unregenerate are so bitterly opposed to these doctrines and their professors, nor that they appear to them as the effects of blindness and superstition. . . . . I should make poor work at preaching in my present state of mind, for I could neither advance such doctrines nor let them alone. Thus I am perplexed. I feel that they are true, yet seem to know it is impossible they should be so. I never would meddle with them, were I not, in some measure, obliged to by the profession I have chosen. I almost long for death, that the apparent contradictions may be reconciled." — Vol. I. pp. 55, 56.

We have already referred to Mr. Payson's retirement from society. On this point he writes: —

"After long doubting the propriety, and even lawfulness, of mixing at all in society where duty does not call, and after smarting a number of times for indulging myself in it, — more, however, through fear of offending than from any pleasure I find in it, — I am at length brought to renounce it entirely."—Vol. I. p. 56.

"Most of my acquaintances," he says in another letter, "consider me, as near as I can guess, but a kind of hypocrite, who must, as a student in divinity, preserve a decent exterior, in order to be respected. . . . . One thing only I wish not to be thought, and that is what is commonly called a rational Christian, an epithet which is very frequently bestowed on young candidates, and which is almost synonymous with no Christian. Liberal divines are pretty much of the same character." — Vol. I. p. 61.

We give one further extract relating to what he deemed his besetting sins. The letter which contains it is addressed to his mother.

"It seems to me," he writes, "one of the worst of the hellish offspring of fallen nature, that it should have such a tendency to pride, and, above all, spiritual pride. How many artifices does it contrive, to hide itself! If at any time I am favored with clearer discoveries of my natural and acquired depravity and hatefulness in the sight of God, and am enabled to mourn over it, in

comes Spiritual Pride with, 'Ay, this is something like! this is holy mourning for sin; this is true humility.' If I happen to detect and spurn at these thoughts, immediately he changes his battery, and begins: — 'Another person would have indulged those feelings, and imagined he was really humble, but you know better; you can detect and banish pride at once, as you ought to do.' . . . . . My other chief besetting sin, which will cut out abundance of work for me, is fondness for applause. When I sit down to write, this demon is immediately in the way, prompting to seek for such observations as will be admired, rather than such as will be felt and have a tendency to do good." — Vol. I. p. 62.

This account of himself is as graphic as it was true. Spiritual pride is, perhaps, the most insidious and dangerous form of sin to which the zealous and enthusiastic in religion are exposed; and it is not strange if Mr. Payson failed either to elude or wholly to subdue it at any period of his religious career; especially when it is remembered how much there was both in the peculiarities of his faith and in the influences of his position to favor its approaches and feed its appetite.

We introduce here a few extracts from his diary, to show how very variable, according to his own testimony, were his religious feelings at this period of his life.

"Feb. 5, 1806. For this fortnight past, I have enjoyed a tolerable share of assistance, but nothing transporting. Slow progress."

"Feb. 8. There is no vice of which I do not see the seeds in myself, and which would bear fruit, did not grace prevent. Notwithstanding this, I am perpetually pulling the mote out of my brother's eye."

"Feb. 9. Of late I have none of those rapturous feelings which used to be so transporting; but I enjoy a more calm and equable degree of comfort, and though slowly, yet surely, find myself advancing."

Yet the next day but one, —

"Feb. 11. A very dull day, — almost discouraged; yet I hope the experience I gain of my utter inability to think so much as a good thought will have a tendency to mortify pride."

And, —

"Feb. 16. Very dull and lifeless in the morning. Made a resolution to restrain my temper, and the next moment broke it. Felt more lively at meeting. In the afternoon and evening was remarkably favored. I felt such an overwhelming sense of God's amazing goodness and my own unworthiness, as I never had before."

"Feb. 22. I tasted much sweetness in the former part of the evening; but in the latter part I was favored with such displays of Divine goodness as almost forced me to exclaim, Lord, stay thine hand!"

"Feb. 24. A great falling off from the enjoyments and life of yesterday."

"Feb. 26. I drag along without advancing."

"Feb. 28. Was astonishingly dead and wandering."

"March 3. In the evening, partly by my own fault, and partly by accident, got entangled in vain company. Afterwards was in most exquisite distress of mind."

"April 26. Was much favored in my approaches to the throne of grace."

But, —

"May 4. It is now long since I have enjoyed any of those sweet seasons of communion with God which used to be my chief happiness."

Still, —

"May 18. I think I was never so favored in prayer for so long a period in my life."

"July 18. Sat up till two o'clock at night talking with Mr. —— on religious topics. Found he had more to say in defence of Unitarianism than I could have supposed."

"July 27. Was alarmed with respect to my state by reading Edwards on the Affections; but obtained comfort and assurance by prayer." — Vol. I. pp. 65–72.

This testimony may suffice to prove that the religious life of Mr. Payson had not yet a strong and stable foundation; that the pulse of his soul was far from being regular and healthy; that he enjoyed at no time "a calm and equable degree of comfort"; but was commonly either in a fever or a chill, and always seeking the pleasure of exalted emotions more than the peace of a sound frame of Christian goodness, or that masculine vigor of the religious sentiments which knows no drooping and permits no repining.

In August, 1806, Mr. Payson gave up the charge of the academy and retired to his father's, for the better pursuit of his theological studies. We should be glad, had we room, to exhibit to our readers some details of his religious experience during the ten months of his sojourn in the quiet seclusion of his native town, and under the shadow of the paternal roof; though this is rendered, in a great degree, unnecessary, by their general resemblance to those already presented.

As we pursue them, the shadows of his creed are seen gradually gathering round his heart. We behold him still striving, fasting, praying; still weeping, despairing, exulting; now revelling in the joy which his imagination, kindled by religion, conveyed to his breast, and now shrinking in agony from the terrific phantoms with which it crowded his brain and darkened his path; his "deeply depraved" nature at one moment yielding, melted and subdued, to the Divine Spirit, and then suddenly turning so hard, so cold, so dead, that it could neither receive any light nor give forth any warmth. Amidst this alternation and conflict of opposite feelings and tendencies, we see him preparing to assume the weighty responsibilities of his chosen profession. By vows perpetually renewed, by frequent and exhausting fasts, by incessant efforts to attain the unattainable, by midnight devotions, by solemn meditations, did he seek the needed qualification. He girds himself every morning for a fight with the grand adversary, approaching him under manifold disguises; heard by him in every whisper of passion, however faint and unapproved; feared in every thought capable of being developed into a sinful act; perceived in every change that passed over him, by which the high-wrought fervors of his imagination were moderated, and the gorgeous visions which sometimes rose before it were obscured; seen in the shadowy doubts that occasionally flitted across the highway of his faith, and in all the forms of human infirmity; — by conflicts fierce and terrible with this Protean adversary, maintained with strong resolution and with sleepless vigilance, he ceases not, day nor night, to pursue his preparation. Seldom, we believe, has a young man entered the ranks of the profession with a preparation of this kind more costly. We feel a profound sympathy for the struggling soul, whether the evils be real or imaginary with which it contends. The soul that, knowing itself fettered, resolves to break the chain which holds it, that is alarmed by its perils and persists in exertions to escape from them (though fruitless, because misdirected), that trembles at the thought of its own degradation, and with groanings that cannot be uttered besieges the throne of grace to obtain help and mercy, — such a soul, though wedded to a thousand errors, commands not only our sympathy, but our unfeigned reverence. And when we see this young man, week after week, and month after month, making the day sober and the night weary with his prayers, thinking and talk-

ing of nothing but the claims of religion as they appear to his mind, baptized in the cloud and in the fire, and all that he may render himself acceptable as a servant of Christ, — whilst we deplore the errors of his faith and recoil from the delusions under which he acted, — we instinctively yield him the tribute of our respect, the homage which is due to a noble nature obedient to its highest law. And yet we shall not refrain from avowing the belief, entertained with no scruples, that such intense action of the elements within, which have relation and affinity to spiritual things, such incessant racking of the heart, such frequent and prolonged absorption of the reason and imagination in things purely abstract, not connected with the daily life of man, are wholly unnecessary, — called for neither by a wise regard to the economy of man's physical and moral constitution, nor by any real wants of the soul, when thoroughly alive to its Christian obligations; that they tend in general to defeat their own ends, and are therefore worse than useless.

Mr. Payson preached his first sermon in May, 1807, at Marlborough, in this State. The following is his record of that day.

"May 24. Sabbath. Was favored with considerable fervency, life, and sense of dependence, this morning. Endeavoured to cast myself wholly on the Lord for support. Felt thankful it was rainy. There were very few people at meeting, and I just got through without stopping. Spoke too fast and too low. Was a good deal depressed after meeting. In the afternoon did a little better, but still bad enough. Was very much fatigued and almost in a fever; but enjoyed some comfort after meeting." — Vol. I. pp. 106, 107.

Four days afterwards he "enjoyed a very unusual degree of sweetness and fervor," and also the day following; "but was much exercised on account of pride, or rather love of applause, which was excited by some approbation which, I lately heard, was bestowed on my preaching." A short time passes and we find him writing down this melancholy testimony: — "June 18. Suffered more of hell to-day than ever I did in my life. O such torment! I wanted but little of being distracted. I could neither read, nor write, nor pray, nor sit still." The next day: — "Rose in the same state of mind in which I lay down. Rode out and felt some better, so that I found some liberty to pray." We adduce these records of himself, that our readers may see the state of mind

and the moral habits in which he began his career as a minister. His whole subsequent life was only a development of the dispositions exhibited at this period; and the origin of these is to be sought, not in any peculiarity of natural temperament, — for in this respect Mr. Payson was not distinguished by activity and fervor, — but in the entire prostration of a soul, owning absolute fealty to God, before that despotic system of theology which he received as embodying the cardinal truths of religion. It broke him down. It made him a nervous hypochondriac. It ruined his health. And it stimulated that spiritual pride which his "natural man" abhorred, and against which he strove with all the energy at his command. Had Mr. Payson made it a rule to "ride out" oftener, he would doubtless have "felt better," not only for the time being, but permanently; for it must needs require a very vigorous constitution, sustained by much exercise in the open air, to endure a system of theology which deprives God of his fatherly attributes, which contemplates the final triumph of evil in the universe, and sees the hell of eternity daily filling with the children of God, doomed to its unutterable torments by his arbitrary decree. The wonder is, that all who adopt it do not sink and die under it, that they find a moment's rest from that agony of mind which defies consolation, that a smile of contentment, much more of mirthfulness, should ever be seen playing upon their features, or that they can permit themselves under any circumstances to form those endearing domestic ties from which endless misery may flow. It is a bold and groundless assumption of Mr. Payson's biographer, that, "if with his own views of the gospel he was sometimes melancholy, with different views he would have gone distracted." No. With different views we believe he would have been both a happier and a better man; and notwithstanding the solemn protest of his friend, that "to make his faith accountable for his distresses would be the highest offence to his now sainted spirit," we do and must hold his theology answerable for most of his imperfections and all his unusual sufferings, and calmly avow our belief that in so doing, so far from offending, we afford satisfaction to "his now sainted spirit." We confess that in our estimation Mr. Payson was less a Christian after he became such by the general consent of his friends than before, — after he became what is technically called "a child of grace" than while he remained simply a right-minded and deserving man;

not less true to his own ideal of a Christian, but farther removed from a perfect ideal, — less meek, magnanimous, sweet-tempered, trustful, and hopeful; less patient, gentle, and humble in his relations to others; less open-hearted, kind, and sympathizing as a friend; — though his soul flamed up with more of that piety which of old worshipped the Lord God in the symbols of the quaking earth and the thundering heavens, and in the terrible majesty of the Warrior-King omnipotent to save or to destroy.

If in this judgment we may be thought to err, still we maintain that whatever he was in the maturity of life, as a man and a minister, must be attributed, in no inconsiderable degree, to the influence of those distinctive religious opinions in which he had been educated. We believe in the potency of opinion, and when it has reference to matters of high concernment, can never allow ourselves to speak of it as of small importance. We do not at all assent to the maxim which some appear to have adopted into their holy scripture, — "It makes no difference what one believes, provided his life be right"; for it would seem to us to be in open contradiction to other Scriptures of an authority higher than human. What is religious opinion but the judgment which the mind forms on the great questions suggested by the soul's relation to God and eternity? Behind it in the mind lie, we admit, the religious instincts, the religious sentiments; but these are powerless till they shape themselves into ideas. Not till they assume the form of thought do they become efficient in the formation of character. *God exists*, — this may be a spontaneous and universal conception of the human mind; but *what he is*, — the all-important question, — what relation he sustains to man, and how he regards him, — this is matter of induction and within the sphere of opinion. It is the judgment formed upon this question, much more than the prior fact, which gives tone to the affections, which inspires and directs the worship, and which influences the conduct of life. So, too, one's opinion — what one *thinks* — of Christ involves the question what he thinks of Christianity, and this, the question what he thinks of life, of the soul, of duty, of the world to come; and will any pretend that the opinion one forms on these points has no influence on his character, — that it has not an immeasurable influence? The power of opinion in other departments of life than that which religion covers is everywhere admitted. The political opinions of an individual, or of the members of a state, how much often de-

pends upon them! How much pains is taken to disseminate what are regarded as right opinions in reference to public measures. Why? Because opinion controls and regulates action. In commercial affairs it is the same. What the merchant *thinks* of the markets at home and abroad decides the voyage; not feeling, not absolute knowledge, but opinion. So also the general opinion concerning the great institutions of society decides their character; makes them, in the first place, and then modifies or overthrows them at pleasure. Opinion in this case is omnipotent. Nothing stands against it. Monuments of human pride totter and fall before it. Works of wisdom that have outlived their day it consigns to dust and oblivion. Thrones that for ages have stood secure in glory it silently upheaves, and buries the children of kings in their ruins, while it exalts the humble youth, of family unknown, reared up in toils and hardships, to a place higher than a throne, and hails him "a nation's father." Now if everywhere else opinion is so powerful,— everywhere, — can we believe that in religion it has little or no influence? Let us see where this notion would carry us. If religious opinion is of no consequence, then we may as well believe one thing concerning Jesus, for example, as another; as well think him a deceiver as a true prophet; as well think him unsound in religion as an infallible teacher; as well think him weak, erring, and sinful, as a pure and perfect example, and declared to be the Son of God by a voice from heaven and by his resurrection from the dead. Why not, — if opinion is of no practical moment, and may be one thing or another with equal safety and equal advantage? But what would be the effect of universal indifference on this point? Precisely this: — to put an entire end to the influence of the gospel in the world, — to put out that light and hope of man, — to put it out of existence, — to crucify Christ again, and bury him for ever, — and thus to leave man once more to himself, in the wilderness, in the storm, in the desolation, in sorrow's anguish, in mortality's fear,—all to himself, friendless, hopeless, Godless, — all to himself, with his instincts and insight, and such philosophy as he could make. The faith of the Christian world in a few generations would disappear; those holy and beautiful traits, imitated from Jesus, which we see and admire in many of his followers, would have faded out of sight, and Christian godliness, with its cheering worship and wide-extending love, would be known only as a feature of a past age.

Besides; what is it from which right conduct, all worthy action, proceeds? The deeds that are remembered with satisfaction, or that are admired in others, traced to their origin, where is it found to be? Is it not always in some active thought, some commanding idea? Is not this the source of those works of genius that have in them immortal life? Ideas, thoughts, are the source of all things. They govern man. Not his reason only, but his life, his outward and inward life, is subject to them. Thus mighty and universal is the influence of living ideas. Now, what are one's religious opinions but his ideas, or the *results of his thinking* on the subject of religion; on a subject, therefore, the highest, the holiest, the most influential, that can possibly engage his mind? And the ideas which men have had, the opinions which they have formed upon this subject, — how vast has been their influence! Moved by them, they have practised the most cruel austerities, kept starving fasts, swung upon iron hooks fastened into their bodies, laid themselves down and been crushed to death by the wheels of their idol's car. Moved by them, they have fought battles, made wearisome pilgrimages, erected inquisitions, burned heretics, overturned governments. Moved by them, they have established communities on the principles of peace and brotherly love, founded churches, visited prisons and the abodes of poverty as angels of mercy, traversed oceans and deserts bearing the cross of the Redeemer, and died the death of martyrs. It is religious opinion, primarily, from which all these actions, so opposite in their character, and of so great importance as it regards human welfare, have proceeded. "If ye continue in my word," said Jesus, "then are ye my disciples indeed; and ye shall know the truth, and *the truth shall make you free.*"

In the tenor of these remarks, we think, is found an adequate explanation of the decided difference in character between individuals and communities living in the same general circumstances, but under widely different theological systems. Both may be worthy of the Christian name, but they are not Christians of the same type. The religious life of Payson, what a contrast does it present, for example, to that of his contemporary and neighbour, the excellent and venerated Parker! and the influence of their respective ministries on the people, of every sort, in the midst of whom they served, — on their peace, harmony, charity, and Christian piety, —

would exhibit a contrast, we suspect, quite as remarkable as that of their personal characters. But we can pursue this topic no farther. What space remains to us, and it is little, must be appropriated to our narrative, which we here resume.

After fulfilling an engagement of a few weeks at Marlborough, and of a single Sunday at Andover, where he "pleased neither the people nor himself," Mr. Payson started, on the 24th of August, 1807, for Portland, — his mind absorbed with heavenly meditations, —

"Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise."

It seems that a rumor had preceded him of his being a Hopkinsian; whereupon he says, — "I thought it might have a good effect to call upon all my old acquaintances, in order to convince them that my religion was not of that morose, unsocial kind which they supposed; and that a Hopkinsian — supposing me to be one — was not *quite* so bad as the Devil!" Scarcely had he been six weeks in Portland, before overtures were made to him by each of the three Congregational societies to become their minister; and on the 16th of December he was ordained as colleague with the Rev. Mr. Kellogg. At this time, in consequence of too much exertion, too much fasting, too much anxiety to attain at once the goal of Christian endeavour, his health became impaired, insomuch that, ten days after his ordination, he raised blood, which he "viewed as his death-warrant, but felt tolerably calm and resigned." His illness continued, attended by various discouraging symptoms; but the moment he felt a little relieved, he would "go to a conference, take more cold, and come home much worse." His diary records, —

"March 28. Am pretty well convinced that my disease is mortal. My mind partakes so much of the weakness of my body, that I can do nothing in religion, and can scarcely refrain from peevishness and fretting."

"March 30. Had a most sweet and refreshing season in secret prayer this morning. Felt more ardent love to Christ than I have for some time, and was sweetly melted under a sense of my ingratitude."

"April 4. Had unusual earnestness in prayer this morning, both for myself and others, and was sweetly melted in reading the Divine word."

"April 22. Was favored with some intense hungerings and thirstings after righteousness. Was led to believe, from certain circumstances, that my case was almost desperate, but felt most sweetly resigned. My only wish was that God might be glorified either by my life or death." — Vol. I. pp. 147, 148.

His sickness continuing, he was led to try the effect of a journey and a visit at his father's house. So prostrated was he by the journey, that he gave up all hope of recovery, and "felt willing to die; had no murmuring thought." He, however, soon rallied, and, after an absence of two months, his church meanwhile observing a day of fasting and prayer in his behalf, he returned to his people and resumed his labors; "the work appearing great, the obstacles insurmountable, and his strength nothing." "I seem," he writes, "to have no power to get hold of people's consciences, but, as somebody expresses it, my intellects have got mittens on." "I preached to-day, and felt pretty much as I expected. No life, — people stupid." This distressed him more than was good. His sensitive nature needed to be soothed and comforted continually by what he loved most of all to see, — an interest in his labors on the part of those to whom he was devoted in the Lord. Recovering his health, he prosecuted his duties with quickened zeal, preaching with great vehemence, earnest to awaken his congregation from the slumbers in which they had been long buried. Writing to his parents under date of August 3, 1808, he says: —

"I preached last Sabbath on man's depravity, and attempted to show that by nature man is, in stupidity and insensibility, a block; in sensuality and sottishness, a beast; and in pride, malice, cruelty, and treachery, a devil. This set the whole town in an uproar, and never was such a racket made about any poor sermon; it is perfectly inconceivable to any who have not seen it." — Vol. I. p. 159.

His biographer adds: — "In the course of the following week there might be heard one man hailing another as 'Brother devil!' But some of these 'brave spirits' were afterwards humbled at the foot of the cross." He has also the good sense to admit that "such a representation of the subject is of questionable propriety," and remarks with shrewdness, that "some young, rash, ignorant ministers will be more emulous to copy this than any other trait in his

preaching. After letting off a volley of harsh, impertinent, bitter, and extravagant epithets, with a heart as callous as that which they describe, they will flatter themselves that they have been signally faithful, 'and are just like Dr. Payson'!"

In a letter to his mother, Dr. Payson thus describes his fears in regard to the effect of his preaching: —

"I think sometimes that all the service I shall do the church will be to change them from legal to evangelical hypocrites; for they have now got their cue, and instead of saying that they do all they can, and hope Christ will do the rest, they are all complaining, like Mrs. ——, what dreadful vile creatures they are, and smile all the time." — Vol. I. p. 160.

The dark view which he took of human nature and of himself gradually wrought disorder in his mind, to such a degree that

"I am obliged," he says, "to go into the pulpit to pray and preach with my mind full of horrid thoughts, so that I totally forget what I am going to say, and am forced to stop short. . . . . It seems as strange, if a good thought or desire rises for a moment in my mind, as it would be to find a diamond on a dunghill, or to see a gleam of sunshine in a dark night. . . . . I know that I am every thing that is bad summed up in one, and that I deserve ten thousand times over the hottest place in hell; but till God shall be pleased to melt my heart by the returning beams of his love, this sight of sin only hardens my heart, and sinks it down in sullen indolence and despair. I well remember those delightful seasons you mention; but I remember them as Satan does the happiness of heaven which he has lost." — Vol. I. pp. 161 – 163.

Again he writes: —

"My people are raving about my hard doctrine; my friends seem to stand aloof, my health begins to decline, religion decaying, and all hell broke loose with me." — Vol. I. p. 164.

Yet his ministry proceeds, — earnest, laborious, indefatigable, — each day bringing its sorrows and its joys to his heart, more, perhaps, of the former than of the latter, but both in no stinted measure. He passes from winter cold to summer heat while the earth is making a single revolution on its axis. He is grieved and bowed down, as if the guilt of a thousand souls were concentrated in his conscience; he melts into love and sings of mercy, and kindles with rapturous joy, as though a myriad of angels were playing their

harps in his bosom. His complaints come forth from the depths of his heart, like the wail of a lost spirit wandering in solitary wretchedness; the utterances of his pious rejoicing are so sweet and holy, that they seem as the voice of one in the midst of the beatific vision. His prayers prevent the morning; the noonday witnesses their increasing fervor; they burst forth in "the coming on of grateful evening mild"; and the silence of midnight bears them on its still, unbroken wave up to the throne of heaven. They are prayers of agony often, sometimes prayers of rapture. They are the sobbings of a soul oppressed, ashamed, and afraid; and they are the glad shouts of a heart that has obtained mercy, that has found forgiveness, and is blest in the anticipated delights of heaven. Nor is he content to pray alone. He institutes meetings for prayer among his people, that they may pray for a blessing on the word dispensed by him, and for a general revival of religion. Still, he continues to be harassed, as he thinks, by temptations without number, from morning till night and from night till morning, with scarce a moment's intermission; exclaiming in one of his letters, as if in agony of mind, — "O my dearest mother, do pity me and pray for me; for I am sifted like wheat!"

We are obliged to pass rapidly over the years of Mr. Payson's ministry. We find them diversified with the usual variety of exertions and sufferings belonging to the life of a devoted clergyman, with something more than the usual share of visible success. His fame as a preacher steadily increases, and this increases the number of his calls for occasional services far and near. In preaching for Bible Societies and Missionary Societies, in conducting "revivals" at home and aiding his friends in other places, in the Bible class, the conference-room, and the church, and in visiting from house to house among his people, his whole time is occupied. "In labors" few have been "more abundant." "Every moment is mortgaged," he said, "before it arrives. If every day were as long as ten, there would be ample employment for every hour." Writing to a friend concerning his celebrated "Address to Seamen," he said: — "I had only ten days' notice, and during that time had to prepare and preach six sermons besides the Address, and another sermon which I did not preach." Again, under date of May 21, 1816, he writes: — "I have two sermons which I wish, if possible, to prepare for the press, but fear I shall never find time.

I have also three ordination sermons to preach within two months, sermons before two missionary societies within the same time, and on the second Sabbath in July I have an engagement to preach in Portsmouth, before the managers of the Female Asylum. Besides this, I preach four sermons and attend two inquiry meetings weekly, etc., etc." Such an amount of labor, together with the religious austerities which he imposed upon himself, and the prolonged excitement caused by frequent religious awakenings, or efforts to produce them, in his church, impaired his health, and made him for several years a confirmed invalid. Add to these an active imagination, rendered morbid by too much use, — perverting itself to the creation of demoniac phantoms in his breast, which filled him with all the horror that actual devils would have caused, — that were, in fact, real devils in his view, — and the reader will see why so much darkness brooded over one who was so truly loyal to conscience and his own conceptions of duty as was Dr. Payson. "My bodily powers," he said, "are kept in such a continual state of exhaustion, and my nerves are so weak, that molehills appear to be mountains, and I am ready to stumble at a straw." And so again, on a quarterly fast-day of his church, just as a great revival was commencing, when his expectations of a wonderful work were very high, when preparations for it had been made on a large scale, he thus tells the story of his deep mortification and disappointment: — "It was the most dreadful day of my life, — the day in which I had most dreadful proofs of more than diabolical depravity of heart." In a conversation with a friend whom he visited while on a journey for the benefit of his health, "he dwelt particularly on the causes which had operated to undermine and destroy it. Among them was his great and increasing anxiety for a general and powerful revival of religion among his people; his incessant labors to secure so great a blessing, and the repeated disappointments he had experienced from year to year. 'We would seem,' said he, 'to be on the eve of an extensive revival, and my hopes would be correspondently raised; and then the favorable appearances would vanish away. Under the powerful excitement of hope, and under the succeeding depression arising from disappointment, my strength failed, and I sunk rapidly under my labors.'" "I am religiously romantic," said he on another occasion; "I am always expecting something out of the common course, and planning what God is going to do."

The following letter shows a state of mind bordering on insanity. It is truly mournful to see a soul of so much real excellence tormented by such hallucinations.

"Dec. 5, 1823.

"I have been sick, and laid by from preaching on Thanksgiving day and two Sabbaths, but am now able to resume my labors. But O the temptations which have harassed me for the last three months! I have met with nothing like them in books. I dare not mention them to any mortal, lest they should trouble him as they have troubled me; but should I become an apostate, and write against religion, it seems to me that I could bring forward objections which would shake the faith of all the Christians in the world. What I marvel at is, that the arch-deceiver has never been permitted to suggest them to some of his scribes, and have them published. They would, or I am much mistaken, make fearful work with Christians for a time, though God would, doubtless, enable them to overcome in the end. It seems to me that my state has been far worse than that of Mansoul was when Diabolus and his legions broke into the town. They could not get into the castle, the heart; but my castle was full of them. But do not be troubled for me; I am now better." — Vol. I. p. 379.

The anxieties and doubts, as well as the labors, of Dr. Payson were now destined to a speedy termination. The course of his life was almost run. No art of the physician could give him back his wasted health. Soon he is to resign all earthly cares and duties. Soon his sun, so often in its journey over the heavens darkened with storms, is to set in unwonted splendor. On the 5th of August, 1827, he entered his meetinghouse for the last time, just twenty years after he entered it the first time as a preacher. He was supported into the house by his senior deacons. Twenty-one persons were admitted to the church. Most of those present were much affected, and after the services many crowded round him, to take his hand for the last time. Solemn and impressive scene! The pastor and his flock meeting for the last time on earth, and exchanging the pledges of their mutual affection as they celebrate together the unspeakable love of that Saviour by whose life and death they have been redeemed unto God! Amidst the unwearied attentions of his family and people, helpless and distressed in body, but strong and happy in faith, he approached his end. "If my happiness continues to increase," he said, "I cannot support it much longer." "Formerly my joys were tumultuous; now all is

calm and peaceful." On being asked, "In your anticipations of heaven, do you think of meeting departed friends?" he replied, after a moment's reflection, — "If I meet Christ, 't is no matter whether I see others or not, though I shall want some to help me praise him." We cannot forbear to brighten our pages with the following beautiful letter, his farewell to his beloved sister. It is dated September 19th.

"Dear Sister: — Were I to adopt the figurative language of Bunyan, I might date this letter from the land of Beulah, of which I have been for some weeks a happy inhabitant. The celestial city is full in my view. Its glories beam upon me, its breezes fan me, its odors are wafted to me, its sounds strike upon my ears, and its spirit is breathed into my heart. Nothing separates me from it but the river of death, which now appears but as an insignificant rill, that may be crossed at a single step, whenever God shall give permission. The Sun of Righteousness has been gradually drawing nearer and nearer, appearing larger and brighter as he approached, and now he fills the whole hemisphere; pouring forth a flood of glory, in which I seem to float like an insect in the beams of the sun; exulting, yet almost trembling, while I gaze on this excessive brightness, and wondering, with unutterable wonder, why God should deign thus to shine upon a sinful worm. – A single heart and a single tongue seem altogether inadequate to my wants; I want a whole heart for every separate emotion, and a whole tongue to express that emotion.

"But why do I speak thus of myself and my feelings? Why not speak only of our God and Redeemer? It is because I know not what to say. When I would speak of them, my words are all swallowed up. I can only tell you what effects their presence produces, and even of these I can tell you but very little. O my sister, my sister! could you but know what awaits the Christian, could you know only so much as I know, you could not refrain from rejoicing, and even leaping for joy. Labors, trials, troubles, would be nothing; you would rejoice in afflictions and glory in tribulations; and, like Paul and Silas, sing God's praises in the darkest night and in the deepest dungeon. You have known a little of my trials and conflicts, and know that they have been neither few nor small; and I hope this glorious termination of them will serve to strengthen your faith and elevate your hope.

"And now, my dear, dear sister, farewell. Hold on your Christian course but a few days longer, and you will meet in heaven your happy and affectionate brother,

"Edward Payson."

— Vol. i. pp. 406, 407.

He lingered in much suffering, but with no interruption of his soul's peace, until the 22d of October, when, at about the going down of the sun, having looked on his wife and children, and said, nearly in the words of the dying Joseph, "I am going, but God will surely be with you," his spirit was released.

Thus lived and died Edward Payson, like the melancholy Cowper a victim of the Calvinistic theology, but a Christian in spite of it; an eloquent preacher and a faithful pastor; justly honored in the church which he adorned and to whose prosperity he was devoted; — a man whose rare piety disarms censure, and whose triumphant death enriches hope.

> "Servant of God, well done!
> Rest from thy loved employ;
> The battle fought, the victory won,
> Enter thy Master's joy."

We have already more than filled our limits, and yet have said nothing of the sermons of Dr. Payson, which in the edition before us fill two large volumes. We have little to say. The sermons have disappointed us; and we think they fall far below an adequate representation of Dr. Payson's powers. Combining the theology of Jonathan Edwards with the imaginative representation and rhetorical extravagance of Whitefield, they lack the strength and terseness of the former, and the point and pathos of the latter. They abound in extravagant conceits, in bold exaggerations, in vivid descriptions of invisible objects, in processes of reasoning without logical coherence, and in efforts to convince and convert more adroit than wise or proper. In composing them heaven and hell seem to have been as familiar to the author's eye as the scenes immediately around him; and his pages now dazzle with the unspeakable glories of the one, and are now lurid with the terrific flames of the other. Their aim appears to have been, not so much to gain his hearers over to his side by clear, calm, earnest argument and persuasion, as to startle, ensnare, and overthrow them; and then to bring them in as captives. He delights to furnish them with objections, and, after surrounding them with his artillery, to demand an unconditional surrender. But the grand fault of these discourses lies in the gloomy, ungenerous, unjust views of man which are the staple of them all. From first to last, they exhibit man only in his extremest

degradation. When they would paint him with their best art, they summon some Satan of the most diabolical class to sit for the picture. The men of these sermons are not the men whom we meet in daily life. They are monsters; they have no image of God in them, no trace of heavenly nobleness. They have no sympathy, no truth, no faith, no aspiration. They have no law in their minds opposed to the law in their animal nature, but are wholly bent upon evil. They riot in sin. "Evil, thou art my good," is their ruling principle. If they detect any thing in themselves that seems right and good, they are made to believe that this is only a manœuvre of the adversary in order to gain some new advantage. In the sight of God and angels they are miserable, worthless, loathsome beings. Such representations, abounding in these volumes, insure to them early oblivion.

Dr. Payson's sermons want breadth of scope. They do not sweep the circle of religion, but describe only a single segment. They do not traverse humanity in its amplitude, but are confined to a small and dark corner of it. In imagination they are often bright and soaring, but seldom, though sometimes, brilliant and sublime. They deal with their hearers, in too many instances, as if they had no intellect to question their postulates, and no heart to feel their aspersions. They lack the spirit of brotherly kindness and charity, — the humane and social element of religion, — the spirit of the second great commandment, to give practical activity to that of the first. And yet many of them are striking, pertinent, forcible, abounding in apt illustration, and in the delivery must have been exceedingly effective. To this praise they are entitled, — and it may be considered the highest, — that they probably fulfilled the object for which they were prepared in a measure beyond that which it is often the lot of sermons, even those of distinguished ministers, to do. Nor are we unmindful of the difficulty of composing sermons which, whilst they suit the circumstances of a particular congregation and serve an immediate end, shall also be of a character so general and broad, and receive a finish so exact and beautiful, as to commend them to the taste and fit them for the use of readers at large. But of this we are sure, that sermons which do not treat fairly the intellect of the hearers, — sermons which aim to carry their points by stratagem or by volleys of eloquence, — sermons which are not in harmony with the nature of man and the progress of

the race, — sermons of menace and impassioned declamation merely, however solemn and moving at the time, — can have no permanent interest or value. The name and memory of their authors may long be preserved and held in honor, but the sermons themselves will soon be forgotten. To this fate we think most of the sermons in these volumes are destined.

How, then, it may be asked, do we account for Dr. Payson's great celebrity as a preacher? We should be glad, in reply, to go into a critical analysis of his powers; but must content ourselves here with a very general view of them. Dr. Payson possessed many of the essential qualities of a pulpit orator, — a fine voice, simplicity and dignity of appearance and manner, quick and clear perceptions, skill in disposing the materials of his discourse, a lively interest in his subject, unquestioned sincerity, an imagination easily excited and often rich in its creations, sensibilities that moved with lightning rapidity, a heartfelt concern for the salvation of his fellow-men, and an overwhelming sense of the magnitude of the work in which he was engaged. With these qualities no man could fail of producing an impression, of attracting notice, of winning popular regard. Add to these, uncommon variety, copiousness, and fluency in his public prayers, poured forth from depths of thought and feeling that seemed inexhaustible, suited to every occasion, to every state of character and mood of mind or heart in his congregation, uttered with a fervor and earnestness of manner that drew the undivided attention of all, and prepared them for receiving the sermon as a veritable message from heaven. In this union of gifts and attainments is found, we think, the secret of Dr. Payson's unusual fame as a preacher. Had these qualities been combined in him with a more generous faith, with a better appreciation of the actual condition and wants of men, — of the good that is in them to be commended, as well as of the evil to be condemned, — with a view of the nature and means of salvation more strictly evangelical, with a more genial and hopeful humanity, we doubt not his influence would have been broader, deeper, and more beneficent, and the memorials of his ministry, in the place where it was exercised, more conspicuous, gratifying, and enduring.

J. W. T.

E. P. Gannett,

Art. V. — RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE TIMES.

There is a general complaint at present of a decline of religious interest in the churches of our land. From all denominations arises this lamentation, united with more or less rebuke of those who are represented as participating in an apathy which they should have prevented. In some quarters very strong language is used on the subject. The present is pronounced "a period of spiritual death." "There are few or no revivals." "Coldness has crept over our religious assemblies." "Worldliness has chilled the sensibilities of the devout, and diverted to its own ends the energies of the active." "Religion is at a low ebb in the community." "Zeal has given place to torpor, and piety to indifference." In such terms as these is the character of the present time described by some persons; while others content themselves with speaking of a *comparatively* low state of religion, and deplore the absence of those signs of spiritual life which were seen a few years ago.

We are far from denying that there is occasion for such remarks. There is apparently, and, we believe, really, less interest felt in religious subjects now than prevailed three or four years since. Those who have adopted the religious life are generally less strict in their fidelity to its requisitions, and among the irreligious or the worldly fewer examples occur of a change of character. We may, with entire truth, confess the poverty of our faith and the emptiness of our lives.

But we must not exaggerate the evil, imputing to our times more of irreligion than belongs to them, nor continue to present to our own or to others' observation only one side of the reality, as if there was no reverse to the gloomy truth. We should avoid this mistake, both because it is a mistake, a virtual falsehood, and because it does no inconsiderable harm.

It is a virtual falsehood, as all one-sidedness is. He who dwells exclusively on the dark or the bright aspect of society misrepresents it, as much as he who looks only on the joy or the sorrow of life misrepresents the Divine Providence. There is never an entire degeneracy, an indifference which sweeps over all hearts, as there can never be found an individual who is wholly and only bad. In the worst times

there are some faithful souls who withstand, if they cannot arrest, the tendency of their age. When the Papal Church was at the height of its power, and the depth of its corruption, the Waldenses stood forth as the champions of a purer religion, or maintained their virtue in the seclusion which was their only means of safety. Even in Sodom there was one Lot, an exception to the general character of the people. We are apt, too, when grieved or indignant at the proofs of laxity around us, to forget how much excellence is hidden from sight in the quiet homes of the land. Who can tell how many morning and evening sacrifices are laid on altars which no eye but God's has counted? Who can estimate the amount of private virtue, of Christian self-denial, of unostentatious goodness, of secret communion, which comes up into constant remembrance before the Omniscient One? At the moment when the lust of gain and the love of pleasure may seem to divide the community between them, in hundreds of households might we find lives worthy of all praise. There never was an Elijah to complain that he alone was left of the servants of the Lord, who might not have been rebuked by a declaration like that which taught the prophet that God's knowledge, like God's patience, was greater than his own.

The partial judgment of which we speak does harm, because it discourages some persons, and in the minds of others raises painful questions respecting Christianity. It disheartens those who depend very much on sympathy, and who, if they be told that their fellow-Christians are all sinking into religious unconcern, will lose their own energy of faith, and illustrate the truth of the remark by which they will themselves have been overborne. Yet more serious is the evil which is done, when persons, who are not established in that Christian experience which is a witness to itself of the Divine origin of the Gospel, are tempted to inquire how that can be from God which is so inefficacious. Can a religion which produces no fervor or force of character have come from above? Christianity is now hampered, in its attempts to win the submission of some men, by difficulties enough arising from its confessedly slow progress and imperfect establishment in the world, without our increasing the obstacles in the way of faith by holding up to view only the less favorable passages of its history. By speaking only of our neighbour's ill-success or want of influence, we may very soon create a prejudice against him that shall never be over-

come. In like manner may we prejudice the cause of truth and of God.

In regard to the alleged, and actual, departure of our times from a high standard of Christian experience, it should not be forgotten that similar complaints have been made, and not without reason, in all ages. We find them at no great intervals, as we traverse the whole extent of ecclesiastical history. To go no farther back than the settlement of our own country, this neighbourhood had scarcely become the seat of a Christian population, when the charge of degeneracy was brought against the people. In the sermons of a hundred years ago, and of a still more distant date, we meet with as strong descriptions of prevalent immorality and declension of piety, as in any of the discourses or journals of our own day. It does not follow that either now or then the imputation was unjust, but from such facts we may learn to avoid alike excessive severity of judgment and extreme indulgence of anxiety.

Another fact of a general nature is established, we think, by a survey of the history of the Christian Church. Is it not manifest, that there are alternations of religious interest and religious apathy? Are there not periods at which God seems to awaken a wider and deeper thoughtfulness on spiritual subjects than at others? It is plain that a uniform religious experience is no more to be expected in a community than in an individual. There will be seasons of earnestness and seasons of dulness. For a time an anxiety about the welfare and destiny of the soul will appear to pervade all classes, and then again little concern will seem to be felt by any class of persons. Unusual engagedness in divine things will be followed by apparent forgetfulness of them. Such variations no one who has observed the state of society even for a few years can deny. Much of the language which has been used in regard to the fact we are noticing we would avoid, as being founded in a wrong philosophy of religion, and suited, while it represents God as capricious, to render man indolent. But that seasons of religious excitement alternate with seasons of religious depression, we hold to be undeniable. The law which governs such changes, if a law there be, is known only to the Supreme Intelligence; if they are what in human language we term accidental, the causes which produce them are either so obscure or so various that they elude our power of description. Still, the

existence of something like a periodical sensibility to the importance of religious truth is established by the history of every town and church. And in this fact we but discover a resemblance to what we observe in other provinces of human experience. Excitement and indifference succeed each other on every subject in which a community can be interested, not, indeed, with the regularity, but with the certainty, of the ebb and flow of the tide. Now the people are captivated with this pleasure or this pursuit, and now they seem weary of it. What we call fashion is little else than obedience to this principle of social life, which has force in religion as well as in other matters.

The comparative want of interest in religion which marks the present time may be, in part at least, explained. Not to insist on that principle of reaction to which we have just referred, two powerful and obvious influences present themselves, as conspiring to withdraw the minds of the people from religious thought. One is the great prosperity of the times, — not unexampled, indeed, but perhaps never surpassed. Never has there been a period when all classes, from the day-laborer to the capitalist, received more sure or larger returns for whatever investment, whether of industry, ingenuity, or money, they made in worldly undertakings. Look, on the one hand, at the situation of those whose reliance for their daily bread is on their daily toil. The poor we may always expect to have with us, — the infirm and the vicious; but he who is willing and able to work finds work, and for that work receives such remuneration as, if it do not relieve him from anxiety, lifts him above want. But then *he must work*, all day and with all his strength, or others will take advantage of his idleness and carry off from him the means of subsistence. On the other hand, he who has already accumulated large property unites with his rich neighbours, and in one short winter rises a city where his wealth may be expended in the confidence of ample returns. Meanwhile, the country is crossed and recrossed with the iron roads along which trade and travel pour themselves, like streams down mountain-passes. Business stretches out its thousand arms in every direction, and everywhere grasps a substantial reward. The city is prosperous, and outgrows its natural limits. The country is prosperous, and sustains an increasing and thriving population. The misfortunes of other lands, while they call our benevolence into ready exercise,

and throw upon our shores a host of needy sufferers, yet materially increase the value of our harvests, and add to our wealth. Activity is seen on all sides; and men's hearts are full of the cares and concerns of this life. At such a time the claims of religion are not likely to receive their due share of attention. The people are too busy, and too successful, to stop and meditate on Christian duty or the grounds of Christian hope. With some, gratitude may be a bond to hold them to a faithful obedience; but most, amidst this crowd and clamor of worldly engagements, will think little of the soul's wants or the soul's Saviour.

In connection with this characteristic of the present time is another, which has a still more unhappy influence on the religious sensibilities of the people. It is a time of war, — a period when anxiety or excitement absorbs all the interest that can be spared from business. The war with Mexico has become a history of remarkable and rapid successes on the part of one of the nations engaged in this unchristian strife,— if that can be called success which consists in slaughter and rapine. The consequence has been an intensity of feeling about the war, which no one anticipated a few months since. With many, the feeling is one which no humane or Christian heart ought to entertain; with others it is a feeling of grief and shame. In both cases it is very strong, and every day grows stronger. While the thoughts of the people are thus preoccupied and enchained, it is not probable that religion will receive any special regard. We say nothing of the effect on the general character which must follow from such an interest in the details of injustice and bloodshed. We speak now only of the necessary exclusion of sacred thoughts, and the inevitable tendency towards a neglect of religious duties. The mind becomes secularized, if it be not barbarized. The sympathies and hopes of the heart are turned from heaven and detained on earth. To expect that at such a time there should be a revival or an active condition of the religious sentiments, is to expect that flowers will grow and harvests ripen amidst the storms of winter.

While, however, we admit that from these and other causes the interest which the people take in the subject of religion is probably less than it was two or three years since, we cannot but attach importance to a consideration which appears to us not to have been sufficiently weighed by those who, under the influence of their fears or their prejudices,

have failed to observe its bearing on some of the questions before us. Religion, unchangeable in its elements, has various forms of manifestation. "The manifold grace of God," everywhere the same in all that is essential to its character as a Divine gift or a human blessing, is variously distributed, according to the natural receptiveness, the intellectual, moral, or even physical predisposition, of the individual, — will be variously received, according to the temperament, intelligence, or spiritual sensibility of each one, — and must be variously exhibited in the relations of society, according to the talent, taste, and opportunity which belong to different persons. Christianity is not a mould into which character or life is cast, that it may bear precisely the same shape and appearance. Christians are neither stereotyped nor daguerreotyped presentments of humanity, but examples of a divine principle entering into connection with original peculiarities of structure, to control and sanctify, without effacing, the individuality to which these give occasion. The influence of Christian truth, even were it the same in amount, would not always be the same in its results, as an equal degree of heat or moisture will not produce the same effect on all kinds of soil or all kinds of plants; and the manifestations of Christian faith or the Christian spirit will therefore not be identical, but often dissimilar, where there may be an equal depth of conviction or sincerity of purpose, as different growths of trees may prove a common fertility, with a diverse adaptation, of soils. Peter and John, alike devoted to their Master's cause, show the strength of their attachment in ways unlike, yet not discordant. James gives proof of his Christian constancy by remaining through his whole apostolic life in Jerusalem, while Paul exhibits a constancy neither less true nor more unquestionable by spending his days in missionary labor. Peter and John, James and Paul, are but types of what every age will behold, as long as the Church continues on earth. And if in heaven, as the Christian poet has sung and the Christian apostle has intimated, there be orders of angelic existence and variety of celestial employment, — from those "seven

> "Who in God's presence nearest to his throne
> Stand ready at command,"

to Raphael, "the sociable spirit," who moves with not less alacrity to execute the Divine will, — a similar diversity must

obtain there among those who, admitted to that blest world through a common sanctification and a common mercy, yet maintain there, as here, an individual consciousness, and an individual expression of that consciousness; each one "receiving the gift," and "ministering" it there, as here, according to the capacities, proportions, and relations of his own being.

On earth, this diversity must be increased by that imperfection of character which is inseparable from the weakness and exposure of human nature. And in consequence of such diversity religion has seldom been presented, as a visible reality, in its full and harmonious proportions; never, indeed, except in Him who was the pattern and paragon of goodness, the teacher and the example of a perfect excellence. In him we see the religious character unfolded symmetrically and completely. But in others we see it always in partial manifestation. Even in those who most nearly resemble Jesus we notice excess or defect, or both. Fenelon did not fill out the circle of Christian graces. Those whom we have loved for their rare goodness have always excelled in one kind of goodness, have manifested their religious character through one form of expression rather than through all forms. We may expect to witness the same variety, with similar imperfection, now.

Three manifestations of religious character especially deserve our notice. We may denominate them respectively the religion of the Church, the religion of the individual, and the religion of society. In the Roman Catholic portion of Christendom it is needless to say that the first of these has prevailed, and that generally it has been the only religion of which an example has been given to the world. Still the three have often been combined, not in such just proportions as to present a copy of our Lord's various, yet perfect excellence, but in such proportions as gave to each a place and an importance. We have no wish to fall into the common Protestant vice of injustice to Rome. While we dread and detest its principles of church authority, and reject its doctrinal errors and ceremonial follies, we need not be slow to admit that it has afforded some of the noblest specimens of Christian character. Among the millions whom it has educated, it would be strange if we did not meet with some who prove that God's truth is a mightier instrument than man's device. Such there are, whose names shed glory on the

institutions to which they showed themselves superior. The religion of the Church is that which, from the character of these institutions, we should expect to find, and do find, prevailing among those who adopt the profession of Romanism; but in many instances this has been so tempered by a union with one or both of the other forms which we have mentioned, that it has hardly appeared in excess. In the ascetics, who retired into the wilderness or the convent, we behold the religion of the Church combined as a secondary rather than the chief element of character with the religion of the individual, while the religion of society was by them wholly neglected. In many of the missionaries whom Rome has sent out to proselyte the nations of the earth, we behold reverence for the Church united with a sincere regard for the interests of others; though in most of her missionaries she has trained only servants of her cause, bent upon extending her authority, with little concern about any other than the ecclesiastical benefits which they might confer on their converts. In other instances, in those who were the true saints of that communion, men who were worthy to be canonized by the love of all Christendom, we see the ecclesiastical, the personal, and the social elements blending and coöperating to a most beautiful and blessed result. On the whole, through the many ages of Romish despotism, we contemplate in its history an exhibition of the religion of the Church, but with exceptions that relieve and irradiate the monotony.

When we come to Protestantism, we find that there prevails a development of the second of those forms of the religious life which we have enumerated. In the English Establishment, indeed, the religion of the Church is brought into great prominence, but even there it is largely qualified by the element of personal consideration. The great aim of Protestantism has been, to unfold the religion of the individual. And this end it has attempted to reach mainly through the inculcation of theological doctrine. Faith has been represented as the great means of salvation, and this faith has been defined to be a reception of positive dogmatic statements. Protestant teachers have labored to implant certain persuasions in the mind of the individual, that through their presence or their influence within him he might become a Christian. They seem to have thought little, or not at all, about society, and have taken no pains to give the people instruction concerning the work which might be accomplished

in rebuilding the social order on the basis of Christian truth. They have taught that men must seek eternal life by what has been called an exercise of justifying faith in the merits of the Saviour, or in the articles of a sharply drawn creed, or, in other cases, where a clearer, though still inadequate, understanding of the Gospel prevailed, by offices of meditation, prayer, Scriptural reading, and inward self-abasement, rather than by works of beneficence, — thus giving to religion too much a selfish character, and making its processes revolve around the individual, as their sole controlling cause. Or where a higher conception of the religious spirit has obtained, and disinterestedness has been inculcated as the distinction of the Christian, it has been — strange, but true, is this — it has been held up before the inquirer after God's will as an intellectual, rather than a moral property, — the central principle of a theological system, rather than the determination and expression of the daily life. If it be thought that the support which of late years has been given to Christian missions by different Protestant churches invalidates the force of these remarks, it should be remembered that Protestant missions are of recent growth, and mark the character of the age rather than the spirit of Protestantism, which for nearly three centuries did nothing and attempted nothing beyond its own theological borders. A Christian regeneration of society is an idea which the history of neither Catholic nor Protestant missions is likely to suggest. Protestantism has failed, we conceive, almost as signally as Catholicism, to realize the completeness of the Christian character. Still, among Protestants, as among Catholics, have been seen examples of an approach to "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ"; and in some of the smaller Protestant sects, as, for example, the Moravians and the Quakers, has been witnessed a manifestation of that form of the Christian life which we have denominated the religion of society. But the general influence of Protestantism is undeniably such as we have described; and therefore this last expression of the religious sentiment has never yet had its full or fair development.

We need not attempt to prove that all these three kinds of religion are legitimate and essential parts of a perfect whole, or that when Christianity obtains its proper influence in the world it will produce these several manifestations of its power in a delightful agreement. Each of them is needed;

the religion of the Church, because, apart from the Church, with its opinions, institutions, and influences, the Christian is little more likely to advance towards perfection, than is a man to accomplish a journey without a road to travel in or directions how to pursue his way ; the religion of the individual, because, unless a man take care of his own spiritual interests, he will become a mere tool or machine in other men's hands, and not a child of God nor an heir of glory ; the religion of society, because, where there is no sympathy with the wants and sufferings of those about us, there can be only a feeble and mutilated imitation of Christ. All must be seen in concurrent action, both in the believer and in the sect that would establish a full title to the name of Christian.

But if each of these is necessary to the completeness of the Christian character, then it follows that each of them is a partial exhibition of the Christian character, and the person or the community that exhibits either of them is so far faithful to Christianity, and ought not to be charged with an entire want of the Christian life. And further still, since each is essential, it is wrong to underrate either, as if its presence were of little worth except it be attended by its proper companionship. Wherever we see either of these forms of religious life, — for each of them is a form of the religious life, — we should be ready to acknowledge and commend it. If, therefore, in the course of time and the changes over which the Divine Providence watches more patiently, as we have said, and more wisely, than we, the third aspect of religion, or that which looks towards society, should present itself in the practice of any body or any number of Christians, to the neglect of the other views which should likewise be taken of its character, we ought not to cry out at once against the degeneracy or irreligion of the times. While we regret the partiality of conception which produces such a fragmentary display of the Christian life, we should remember that even a single marble from the Parthenon may fill us with admiration, and that the philanthropist, if we must use this word in the narrow and almost sectarian sense which it has acquired of late years, is at least as genuine a representation of a part of Christianity as the devotee or the dogmatist.

These remarks apply to the present posture of affairs. The religion of the Church has with many fallen into neglect, and even into disrepute ; the religion of the individual receives from such persons but incidental attention ; while the religion

of society absorbs their thought and occupies their time. Is there not something here at which we may rejoice, as well as something which we must lament? That manifestation of the Christian character which has been so unjustly overlooked is now acquiring a degree of notice commensurate with its claims. If they who are its warmest advocates and strongest examples neglect other forms of the religious life, they do but commit the same mistake, of a partial judgment of what Christianity is and of what the Christian should be, which has marked the history of the Church in every age. We wish the philanthropy of the present time were more reverent and more humble. We wish it loved the Church better, and thought more of the necessity of self-discipline. But it offers to our view one phase of the Christian life, and as such we accept it, just as we would accept with gratitude the Gospel of Matthew or of John, if we could not have both. We believe that many persons, from their peculiar habits, tastes, or circumstances, will be attracted by this exhibition of Christian sentiment, and will sympathize with it, to the depreciation of other modes of religious expression. Meanwhile, however, "Christ is preached," in one way or another; and therein we rejoice. Nor would we hastily pronounce a judgment upon the age as cold or worldly, because the same forms of religious life which have been chosen in past time do not find equal favor now. If there be any development of the Christian spirit, let us acknowledge and welcome it.

It is the special object of those who are interested in what we have called the religion of society to introduce a better state of things than now exists in civilized countries, and, with or without the direct aid of Christianity, to establish a social order which shall be worthy of man, of civilization, and of the Divine Providence. Giving their attention principally to the evils which lie around them, they find more employment for their thoughts and active powers in the mitigation of human distress, or the removal of public abuses, than either in special offices of self-culture or in an observance of the rules and privileges of the Church. It is a partial view which they take of the religious life, but it is one which ought not to be neglected, and which is awakening more and more interest in the minds of good and earnest men. With some remarks on these points, we shall bring this article to a close.

There are two ways in which they who are anxious to amend the social state may proceed. One is, to address themselves to particular vices or institutions or forms of human suffering, in the hope of removing them; the other is a more radical method, and attempts to work a change in the whole social organization. The latter method strikes deeper, and would spread itself over a wider field of action, than the former; but they are suggested by the same conviction of the injustice which society at present inflicts upon its members, and they permit the appropriation of the names of philanthropist and reformer to both the classes of persons who pursue these methods.

We concur with both these classes in believing that society needs to be reformed, if not to be remoulded. Institutions exist, which lift their heads above the obscurity of past times and affront the light of the present, as if in defiance of that law of progress which would doom them to decay. Practices abound which are as injurious as they are discreditable to humanity. Such institutions and practices, at direct variance with Christianity, are nevertheless cherished by nations which, with a Pharisaic ostentation, write its name upon the garments of their public state. It is time, it was time a thousand years ago, — how much more clearly is it time now! — that attention be called to these things, and the eyes and the consciences of men be fastened on these flagrant violations of God's law, these examples of social iniquity. For whatever deprives a man of an enjoyment of the rights which are pointed out as his by the circumstance of birth, or lays on him a heavier burden of trouble or of disadvantage than was intended by the Author of his being, is a sinful departure from that constitution of things which, according to the will of God, should have prevailed on earth. It is impossible, in comparing the results of modern civilization with the legitimate fruits of Christianity, not to observe the glaring contrasts which present themselves on every side. Much there is to approve, much to admire; but much also to condemn, deplore, and eradicate. There is an immense pressure of evil, by which thousands, nay millions, are crushed to the earth; — factitious distinctions which have no foundation in justice, and conventional arrangements against which multitudes in vain attempt to rise to their proper enjoyment of the means and purposes of existence. Whole classes are trained in sin from their birth, and the fair earth, which was built for man's

pleasant habitation, is converted into a moral pest-house. Were it not for another life, in which the Divine Righteousness will see that they who have been *compelled* by the circumstances of their condition to live in the vilest degradation here are placed under more favorable influences, how often should we exclaim, — "It had been good for that man if he had not been born."

The essential defect in our social system is the inequality which marks the distribution of the means of comfort and improvement. It is not necessary to a removal of this evil that men should share alike in respect to worldly possessions. The disproportion of which we complain is not to be corrected by stripping the rich of their wealth; for the evil is not that there are men who have abundance, but that there are other men who have nothing. It is not an offence against the social law that I am surrounded by comforts, but it is through a disregard of that law that my neighbour lives without any of the comforts of life. It is not wealth, but poverty, which shows how little respect is paid to the Divine will in the arrangements of a community. God never intended that there should be those who must live by beggary or by thieving, because they can find no other way to save themselves from starvation. But the permission of this extreme want is not the only breach of Divine commandment with which society is chargeable. Men have a right to something more than food or the means of a bare subsistence. To save them from perishing is not all that society owes to its members. They have a right to a certain measure of intellectual and moral culture, — enough to make them useful and happy here, and heirs of happiness hereafter; and they have therefore a right to the enjoyment of so much time and such opportunities as are necessary to this culture. Further still, they have a right — every man, woman, and child on this earth, which a good God has provided for human beings to occupy, has a right — to some recreation, some free participation in the delights of air, scene, and social influence, which the same God has furnished for his creatures. Society may not, without being guilty of fraud as well as cruelty, make life a burden to be endured, and only endured.

Now, with these principles in mind, if we look into society, what do we see? Multitudes to whom life is a burden, and only a burden, — a wearisome toil, and nothing more, — a mere struggle for subsistence; multitudes who

cannot better their condition, let them try ever so hard, for the social arrangements, the influences and customs by which they are surrounded, will not let them; thousands of women who must work all day long and through many a wearisome hour of the night, without time to read, to visit a friend, or to breathe the fresh air, lest they sink into the condition of paupers. Is this right? That men, by hard toil, week after week through the whole year, toil more incessant than we would allow them to put upon the horses we might permit them to drive, should earn but just enough to keep their families from absolute need, — is this right? Did the Creator mean, when he placed man on earth, or when he uttered that sentence of mingled severity and love, — "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," — did he mean, that a man's whole time should be spent in earning that bread? No. There is a radical wrong in society, which allows such a state of things to continue from generation to generation. We speak not now of the conditions under which life is held by millions in the Old World; — neither of the wretchedness which covers beautiful Ireland, like a black cloud hanging over a silver lake, and turning its liquid splendor into darkness; nor of the uneducated hordes who till the fields or work the mines or infest the cities of Christian England, where may be found adults who know not the meaning of the word God, and children who know not how to return that simplest and purest token of affection, a kiss, — we tell of facts; * nor of the miserable crowds who besiege the traveller in the towns of Continental Europe, with want in their faces and superstition in their cry. We look at home. Is the spectacle which society presents here what it should be in a Christian land, — what it should be in any land whose inhabitants "call on the Father, who judgeth without respect of persons"? We do not wonder that some men, beholding these enormities, are moved to tears, to reproaches, and to what is far better, efforts in behalf of their fellow-beings, oppressed by the circumstances of their condition. We do not wonder that some persons are led into an exaggeration of the evils which flow from an imperfect and corrupt civilization, and are blind-

* The first of these statements rests on the authority of Reports of Parliamentary Committees, and the second is founded on a most touching incident related by one of the Domestic Missionaries in the West of England.

ed by these external provocations of sin to its primary cause in the individual will. We cannot but respect the motive which governs such persons, even when they essay the exemplification of some impracticable theory, or heap upon their age still harsher reproaches than it deserves. As men and Christians, we cannot help admiring the purpose of the "Associationists," on whom has been lavished so much weak ridicule, while we believe their methods of social reform fallacious and mischievous. Nay, in every attempt to vindicate for the laboring and suffering classes a right to share in the bounties of that Providence which offers health, knowledge, and joy to every one of our race, we recognize an element of humanity and a regard to justice that may atone for many of the sad mistakes committed by our modern philanthropists. We esteem it an occasion of rejoicing, when we see persons of intelligence and worth engaged in advocating the claims and in lightening the burdens of those who constitute the foundation on which the structure of society is raised, and who have been regarded in past times as a mere foundation, on which, provided it was strong enough to bear the superincumbent weight, no thought need be bestowed. A better era is dawning upon the civilization of Christendom. All hail to its advent! Honor and sympathy be theirs who are the heralds of its approach!

It is one of the most remarkable features of our time, that literature is beginning to take the neglected classes under its protection, and is seeking at once to secure for them a proper share of consideration, and to provide for them the means of intellectual and moral elevation. It may be safely affirmed, that the establishment of the "People's Journal" is a more important event, in view of the influence which it is suited to exert, (as it is undeniably the mark of a higher civilization,) than was the first publication, many years ago, of the Edinburgh Review. Nor is it extravagant to say, that Hood's "Song of the Shirt" is a nobler production than Campbell's "Hohenlinden." One is the trumpet-call of the battle-field, the other the angel-strain of mercy; we need not ask to which enlightened reason and correct taste must concur in awarding the meed of superior merit. Even the abominations of such writers as George Sand and Eugene Sue are in a measure redeemed by their sensibility to the injustice of those institutions which crush the very life out of human hearts. If hypocrisy be "the tribute which vice pays

to virtue," then the tone of philanthropy which these writers affect — if we must suppose it to be falsely assumed, which we are far from admitting — is no slight evidence of the better tendencies of the age.

"The cause of the people" has become a phrase of deep moral significance, — a phrase often, doubtless, adopted for political effect or selfish ends, but often, also, used with entire honesty and nobleness of purpose. There is twofold encouragement in the example of men of acknowledged ability laboring to produce a mitigation and final removal of the oppressive circumstances under which life has been held by the lower classes. They are the prophecies and pledges of a change in the treatment which these classes have hitherto received from those who have only condescended to look down upon them, and they show us what can be accomplished by individual, but earnest, minds. Honorable as was the title by which Elihu Burritt was known when fame had spread the story of his wonderful acquisitions, he is now earning a name by his philanthropic exertions in England, before which the celebrity of his learning fades and almost disappears.

Some of the enterprises of moral reform which distinguish our day may be styled Quixotic, and the manner in which they are conducted may seem to mark the extravagance of the insane, rather than the sobriety of an enlightened disciple of Christ. But the purpose, — this it is on which we insist, — the purpose is a noble and a sacred one. In the sacrifice of personal ease for the good of others we have evidence of the benign and penetrating spirit of Christianity. We see, too, in these reformers a moral courage and a confidence in the success of benevolent effort worthy of all admiration. They maintain, — and we certainly agree with them, — that a moral evil, whether in our own hearts or in the heart of society, should arouse all our energies for its extirpation. They believe that no sin can permanently hold its ground against disinterested and unwearied labors for its removal; — are they not right in this belief? Already we see the two institutions which have been most deeply imbedded in the habits of mankind, war and slavery, — each of them almost coeval with our race, and attending the progress of the race through the ages, — beginning to yield to the sentiment which is directed against them by those who hold them to be as unchristian in their character as they are barbarous in their

origin. Beginning to yield? It is scarcely beyond the distance of a single generation since the first practical assault was made upon the institution of slavery, and now our own country and one other alone enjoy the disgraceful preëminence among civilized nations of being its strenuous supporters. Within the recollection of persons in middle life, war was universally considered the chief means of national glory. What a change has been wrought in the convictions and sentiments of the people within this period! There are few now who will not confess that war is an outrage upon all that is sacred or tender in human relations; and they who undertake the task of its apologists are driven to the last argument within which its defence can be conducted, — that it is a necessary and ineradicable evil.

These are the two great social institutions against which Christianity and Christians need now to direct the moral force before which they must disappear. Intemperance, licentiousness, and fraud, those three chief personal vices which destroy the well-being of man, must also be exposed, rebuked, and driven from society. Legislation and punishment, the two methods by which government brings itself into connection with the life of the individual, must be regulated by a regard to the good of the individual, and not to the strength of the government. The misery which now exists in countless dwellings, and the sin which is a consequence of that misery, must be visited by the heart of philanthropy and the arm of reform. And, in a word, whatever is wrong in the opinions, usages, or organization of society must be changed. If we are asked, How? we answer, Not by the violence of revolution, nor by the force of theories which are of man's invention, but by Christianity, by the application of the principles of the religion of Jesus Christ to the affairs of the world, — all its affairs, all its relations, all its interests. Against the philanthropists of the day, as a class, having, however, within itself many exceptions to the remark, may be brought three charges, which, established by numerous examples, prove their unfitness to conduct the social regeneration of the age, of which we are willing to consider them the pioneers. They fall into the common error of mistaking a part of religion for the whole, making philanthropy the synonyme for all goodness, and, through their desire to bring the religion of society into proper estimation, underrating and neglecting both the religion of the Church and the religion of

the individual. They rely too much on changes in the social order, without making Christian faith, as they should, the foundation on which to build their structures of happiness for man. And, like most persons who are captivated by one object of interest, they are unjust, bitter, and fierce towards those who differ from them in regard either to principles or methods, and, by the violence of their language, disgust and repel many who would be glad to coöperate with them in calmer measures. But what if they commit these and many other errors? They are fallible men, and so are we all. They are earnest and sincere men, and such, alas! are not all. If the philanthropy of the day is partial, arrogant, and censorious, it is, beyond comparison, preferable to the indifference which looks on the evils and vices that deform society, and cares not for them. Better be a bigot in goodness, than a slave to selfishness or to custom. Better defeat one's own good purposes by extravagance of language or conduct, than not have any good purposes. Much as we deplore the mistakes connected with the movements over which is inscribed the title of reform, we believe there is one thing still more deplorable, and that is unconcern respecting the terrible woes of humanity. God forgive our want of sensibility to the miseries which afflict multitudes of our race, of our countrymen, of our townsmen and townswomen! We can excuse the error of the man who sees in social injustice the origin of all sin, and imagines that better social arrangements would secure universal virtue; but we cannot excuse the apathy which is content to let millions of God's immortal children wear out their earthly life in toil and sin, without even attempting to change the dire necessities of their condition.

Philanthropy and reform, — they are words which the Christian must not give up, and they denote exercises of thought and feeling which he must not neglect. Let him reverence the Church, with its sacred teachings, its various institutions, and its needed influences. Let him attend to the wants of his own soul, and make himself a partaker of spiritual grace and heavenly life. But let him also care for his fellow-men, and give the support of his sympathies and his coöperation to the enterprises of a divinely inspired benevolence, — such a benevolence as was seen in Him who preached the Gospel to the poor, and went about doing good. O brethren! — we would say to all whom our

words may reach, — let us help, not hinder, the work begun by the great Philanthropist and Reformer; let us hasten on, not delay, the time when society shall be pervaded and shaped by the plastic influence of Christianity. Then shall there be a healthful reaction from society upon the individual and the Church. Then shall partial manifestations of the religious sentiment be lost in the apprehension and exhibition of the perfect whole. And then shall come the millennium, when there will be no need of revivals, and no complaint of spiritual torpor. Such a result, we believe, must be brought about by the Church and the individual, each maintaining and expressing the Christian life; — the Church *through* which, the individual *in* whom, with society *on* which, Christianity shall exert its divine power. We have little faith in the value, and none in the permanence, of reforms which separate themselves from the sympathies of the Church; we lament the mistake of those who, in their zeal for the cause of reform, neglect the cultivation of the more private graces of Christian character, or fail to acknowledge their obligations to Christ as the source of all genuine philanthropy; but we long for the time when Christianity, with its visible organizations and its personal influences, shall also determine the whole structure, spirit, and action of society.

E. S. G.

ART. VI. — MARTIN LUTHER.*

The name of Martin Luther stands for an era, and that era one of the most important in human annals. It is a name with which all are familiar, and which should be kept in constant remembrance. The publication of M. Michelet's compilation rendered into English should, we think, be duly appreciated. It places within the reach of every reader an opportunity for obtaining insight into the life and character of the great Reformer nowhere else to be found. As its title indicates, the materials of the book are gathered from Luther's

---

* *The Life of Martin Luther. Gathered from his own Writings.* By M. Michelet, Author of "The History of France," "The People," etc. Translated by G. H. Smith, F. G. S., Translator of Michelet's "History of France," etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 314.

own writings. Thus speaks M. Michelet in his Introduction : — "Throughout the work Luther is his own spokesman, — Luther's life is told by Luther himself. Who could be so daring as to interpolate his own expressions into the language of such a man ! Our business has been to listen to, not interrupt, him ; a rule we have observed as strictly as possible."

Never, perhaps, since the age of Luther and the era of the Reformation, has the press been more fertile in works bearing immediately or remotely on the persons and principles identified therewith, than at the present day. Luther, mental liberty, Romanism, the Reformation, — these are topics which now stand on the pages of many of our most popular books. The artful and persevering disciples of Loyola are again making their appearance in certain countries of the European continent, and this circumstance has aroused some of the greatest minds and most eloquent pens of France on the subject of mental freedom and human progress. The Jesuitical organization is a polypus in society. The one seems as impossible to eradicate as the other. If a fibre of either be suffered to remain, danger still hangs round the subject. It will live, multiply itself, and shoot forth, to disturb, perhaps to destroy. In the Jesuits are seen the enemies of freedom and progress, and therefore they have been assailed by fact and by fiction, by direct argumentation and through the instrumentality of the exciting popular tale. Elsewhere in the Old World we perceive palpable, important, and widely differing religious movements, at once the result and the cause of much deep religious thought and earnest religious discussion. Some are verging towards Rome, smitten with the love of patristic lore and an antique ritual, and seem anxious to make up the quarrel with ancient Mother Church. Others, shocked by the exhibition of the holy coat of Treves, are flying away from her, exclaiming against her knavery and oppression. The movements with which the names of Newman and Pusey, of Ronge and Czerski, are connected were not the mere growth of an hour. That in Germany, we know, developed itself with greater suddenness in its time than did the movement in England. But this was owing to an accidental circumstance. The fields in both countries had been prepared. Thought had been exercised and expressed on the subjects involved, and those fields in due season became ripe unto the harvest. In the one country we perceive doctrines, hitherto

held cardinal, boldly laid aside, and the Papal authority openly renounced. In the other we find changes introduced in matters pertaining to the altar and vestments, and a more rigid adherence to the rubric insisted on. The preparation, the crises, and the progress of these movements would naturally be accompanied by a corresponding literature, and as between this and those there would be a mutual relation, so, likewise, there would be a mutual dependence.

Amongst the many works lately issued bearing on Romanism and the Reformation, none has acquired greater popularity or a more extensive circulation than D'Aubigné's history, which contains a copious and graphic account of the life of Martin Luther. English literature stood much in need of such a work, and M. D'Aubigné's general fidelity in all that relates to matters of fact, and his highly attractive style, have deservedly secured for his book a remarkable measure of success. As an historical performance, however, properly so called, it cannot lay claim to a high rank. The author leaves his own theological impress on every page. Luther is his hero, the special instrument of Providence for the accomplishment of a work which had been attempted in vain by "the power of the high and mighty of the earth, of kings and emperors," by "the power of letters and philosophy," and even by "the Church itself," and to sustain his hero is his undisguised aim. To quote a remark of the Edinburgh Review, made some years ago, in reference to this author's manner of writing, — "He does not aspire to illustrate the principles which determine or pervade the character, the policy, or the institutions of mankind. He arms himself with no dispassionate skepticism, and scarcely affects to be impartial." In D'Aubigné's history we get an animated account of the career of the great Reformer, but if we desire to obtain a calm and impartial view of his life and character, it must be sought elsewhere, and we know not where it can be so readily found as in the book before us by M. Michelet.

Martin Luther, with all his faults of character, was undeniably a great man. He was one of those heroes of human kind to whom we owe a deep and lasting debt of gratitude. It does us good to take a view, occasionally, of the life of such a man, — of his energy, his fortitude, his patience, his perseverance, his temptations, his trials, and his triumph. Such a survey is calculated to animate and quicken us by the forci-

ble impressions which it imparts of the value of faith and fidelity to duty.

We are prone to overrate the work of one who commands an unusual share of our admiration. But it would not be easy to overrate the work of Luther. For we must consider the age in which he lived, the enemy he assailed, the reform for which he struck, and the priceless legacy he secured for the world through the victory he obtained. He was the Elijah of the Christian dispensation, without the special gifts of the ancient Hebrew reformer. As the Mosaic religion had been corrupted and defaced, so was it likewise with the Christian. Through centuries of ignorance and darkness the craft of priests and the subtlety of scholastic philosophers had heaped invention after invention upon it. Worldly power wooed the Church of Christ and won it, and in an evil hour for the interests of humanity and religion their union was effected and consummated. Thus it was attempted to make Christ and the Cæsars occupy the same throne. But the junction was unnatural. Christ's kingdom was not of this world, while that of the Cæsars emphatically was. Avarice and ambition soon coerced the milder virtues of the Gospel. The divine spirit of Christianity, which was given for the healing of the nations and the redemption of the world, was gradually and speedily lost sight of, and an enormous temporal organization, with a powerful earthly potentate at its head, presented itself to the world as the Church of Christ. Its power and influence continued to increase with every generation, until at length it seemed as if the aggregate mind of humanity lay prostrate at its feet. Nothing was too unreasonable, nothing too absurd, for it to command men to believe; nothing too humiliating, nothing too degrading, for it to command men to perform. The scholars of the age bowed to its dictates. The occupants of thrones seemed slaves in its presence.

Such was the condition of religion up to the sixteenth century. Groaning beneath a terrible weight of abuses and corruptions, it seemed to sigh for some second Elijah to rise up and bear testimony against the wicked princes and false priests of the time. Nor did it sigh in vain. In due season one appeared, who, like the rebuker of Ahab and Baal, raised his voice fearlessly for religious reform. Earnestly and resolutely, though in the midst of thousands of enemies, did he enter on the arduous work of freeing Christianity from the

enormous abuses and corruptions which the ignorance, the craft, and the reckless ambition of ages had gathered around it, and identified with it.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century a variety of circumstances conspired to pave the way for the reformation of religion. The venality of the court of Rome was then undisguised and flagrant. The ignorance and immorality of the clergy were apparent to all. At this time the revival of letters took place. The human mind had begun to awake after a long and dreary night of slumber. Sacred learning received attention from the greatest scholars of the age. Reuchlin and Erasmus were efficient pioneers of the Reformation. The former cultivated and promoted the study of the Hebrew Scriptures. The latter — the great reviver of classical literature — employed himself in producing a critical edition of the Greek Testament. In the erection of grammar-schools throughout various parts of Germany means had been taken to quicken and improve the mass of the people. And during the preceding century the art of printing had been discovered, which, in its progress and improvement, would not only keep the general mind awake, but sharpen it, and strengthen it with tenfold strength.

Thus in the midst of an improving condition of things stood the overgrown monument of ignorance and craft, — the Church. Great and startling were its abuses and overwhelming were its errors. In looking on it, "Alps on Alps" of iniquity and wrong seem to rise before our view. But there was one enormous practical evil, in particular, which at this time raised with unblushing front its giant head in Christendom. This was the sale of indulgences. Leo the Tenth was anxious to raise a large sum of money to expend on St. Peter's, and he followed the course of his predecessors by opening a market for these, and gave his commission to itinerant venders. The following vivid description from D'Aubigné will show what now took place.

"The dealers passed through the country in a gay carriage, escorted by three horsemen, in great state, and spending freely. One might have thought it some dignitary on a royal progress, with his attendants and officers, and not a common dealer or a begging monk. When the procession approached a town, a messenger waited on the magistrate. 'The grace of God and of the Holy Father is at your gates!' said the envoy. Instantly every thing was in motion in the place. The clergy, the

priests, the nuns, the council, the schoolmasters, the trades with their flags, — men and women, young and old, — went forth to meet the merchants, with lighted tapers in their hands, advancing to the sound of music and of all the bells of the place, 'so that,' says an historian, 'they could not have given a grander welcome to God himself.' Salutations being exchanged, the whole procession moved towards the church. The Pontiff's bull of grace was borne in front on a velvet cushion or on cloth of gold. The chief vender of indulgences followed, supporting a large wooden cross; and the whole procession moved in this manner amidst singing, prayers, and the smoke of incense. The sound of organs and a concert of instruments received the monkish dealer and his attendants into the church. The cross he bore with him was erected in front of the altar; on it was hung the Pope's arms; and as long as it remained there, the clergy of the place, the penitentiaries, and the sub-commissioners, with white wands in their hands, came every day after vespers, or before the salutation, to do homage to it."

The chief commissioner of indulgences was Tetzel, a Dominican monk of profligate character and unparalleled effrontery. In the course of his mission, with all his daring, with all his pomp of outward circumstance, with all his rudeness and extravagance of speech, he approached the city of Wittemberg. It was here that Martin Luther then lived, and it was here that the sale of indulgences raised a tempest which ceased not to blow until it made a wreck of the Popedom.

It was on the 31st of October, 1517, — the day before the great festival of All-Saints, when thousands were flocking towards the church of Wittemberg, and while the sale of indulgences was going on briskly beside him, — it was on the evening of that day that a man of dauntless spirit and daring hand approached the church-door of Wittemberg, bearing a hammer and nails, and a written paper. He came in the strength of God, and in obedience to conscience, and affixed that paper to the door of the church. It contained ninety-five theses disputing the doctrine of indulgences, though backed and sanctioned by all the authority of the Vatican. It was an important document, but it bore an unassuming subscription. It stated that the propositions contained in it were submitted to any or to all for discussion the following day, "with the love and desire of elucidating truth, by Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk." No one, however, appear-

ed to dispute them on All-Saints' day. We can scarcely imagine the shock the appearance of these theses must have caused, and the sensation they must have created at the time. They found their way everywhere with incredible rapidity. The people, who came from all parts to the city on the festival day, bore them away, and scattered them far and wide. In less than fifteen days they were distributed throughout the length and breadth of Germany. In less than a month they had reached the "eternal city" itself. They were in the hands of all, — high and low, learned and unlearned. The scholars of the country read them and admired them. The crowned heads of Germany read them and were surprised. The common people read them, or heard them read, with wonder. The cultivated and luxurious Leo the Tenth read them in his palace at Rome, and though disposed to treat the affair as a mere monkish quarrel, he probably wondered as much as any.

A crisis of vast importance had evidently arrived, — important both in itself and in its results. The Reformation had now been fearlessly and publicly commenced. It properly dates from that act of the monk of Wittemberg. And who (if we may pause to ask) were the instruments of bringing it about? The great ones of the earth? No. Reuchlin and Erasmus, the prominent revivers of learning, sprung from obscurity. Reuchlin was the son of an unassuming citizen of a provincial town in Germany. At the University of Paris we are told that he transcribed verses for the more wealthy students, and with the remuneration he received from them provided himself with books and other requisites. Erasmus was left a destitute orphan at an early age, and "he pursued his studies in the greatest poverty, but with the most indefatigable perseverance." Those who undertook the immediate work sprung from obscurity too. Zwingle came from a shepherd's hut; Melancthon, from a mechanic's workshop; Calvin emerged from a family of but small note; Luther, from a miner's cottage at Eisleben. There was one, however, of noble birth who cannot be overlooked. He threw the shield of his influence over the infancy of the Reformation, and prevented the interested despotism of ignorance and power from strangling it in its cradle. It will at once be understood that we refer to Frederick, Elector of Saxony.

But, in looking at the group of men who contributed

directly or indirectly to the progress of the Reformation, the monk of Wittemberg stands prominently in the foreground. Luther was clearly marked from them all by his boldness in protesting against the prevailing errors and corruptions, and his inflexibility in maintaining what seemed to him to be the truth. He commenced in good earnest the work of reformation, while others who beheld the abuses with disgust were held back by timidity. "Every one," said he, when writing concerning this affair, "was complaining of the indulgences; and as all the bishops and doctors had kept silence, and no one was inclined to take the bull by the horns, poor Luther became a famous doctor, because he dared to grapple with him." Yes, society was groaning for some strong intellect and bold hand to do such a thing, and Martin Luther, unassisted and alone, came out from his cloister and did it.

The early history of this remarkable man is replete with interest. But why do we confine the remark to his early history? It holds good with regard to his entire career. He remained under his father's humble roof until he was fourteen years of age, when he was removed to Magdeburg to school. Here he was accustomed, as he says himself, to beg a little bread to supply his wants. As was the custom with indigent students, he was in the habit of singing before the doors of the houses in the hope of obtaining alms. He left Magdeburg for Eisenach. Here, likewise, he was obliged to pursue a similar course, until the generosity of Conrad Cotta and his wife relieved him from the necessity. At the age of eighteen he went to the University of Erfurth. It was in the library of this place that he found the old Latin Bible which he pored over with such avidity. When he entered Erfurth it was his intention to devote himself to the study of law. But the awfully sudden death of his intimate friend Alexis had so powerful an effect upon him, that he changed his mind, and abruptly went into a cloister, to the amazement and regret of his numerous acquaintances. Though rigorously treated by the monks, and made to perform the most servile offices, he paid close attention to his studies, and to his devotional duties as a member of the brotherhood. He attracted notice, and in 1508 was appointed Professor of Philosophy at Wittemberg. But his taste lay more towards theological studies, in which he made rapid progress, and he shortly received the degree of

Bachelor of Divinity, and began to lecture on the Scriptures. While thus engaged he was invited to preach in the chapel of the Augustines at Wittemberg, — an old wooden building of small dimensions, being only thirty feet long and twenty feet broad. In this unpretending structure commenced the preaching of the Reformer.

Now we find Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk, in high repute for sanctity and learning, a popular preacher, a professor in a university, with students thronging to him from all parts. About this time (A. D. 1510) some dispute arose between the Augustinians and their vicar-general, and it was thought necessary to send a special delegate to Rome concerning the matter. Luther was selected for the mission. The impressions he received at the convents he visited on his journey, where he was astonished at the luxury of the monks, and at Rome, where he was no less astonished at the irreverence and profligacy of the clergy, had a powerful effect on his mind. On his return to Wittemberg he resumed his usual duties, and was heard to say, that he "would not for a thousand florins have missed the instruction afforded him by that journey to Rome."

At Wittemberg he remained studious, pious, and earnest in all his duties, an eloquent lecturer, a strict disciplinarian, yet requiring no more from his students than he was prepared to submit to himself. Thus was he employed, such were his circumstances and position, when Tetzel came vending indulgences. Thousands flocked to him. Many who came to Luther to confess positively refused either to perform the required penances or to abandon their sins, alleging as a reason for their refusal the purchase of indulgences. Here, then, he saw at once a gigantic practical evil in the midst of society, one that was likely to overturn all sound morality, and he was determined to have it corrected. When he published his theses, he had hoped that the authority of the Pope would be exercised to check so flagrant an evil as that of the indulgences, as soon as its magnitude and enormity were made fully known. But it was not so; and the monk was goaded on from one stage to another, until he was driven into open rupture and deadly hostility to the Supreme Pontiff. He was cited to appear at Rome to answer for his course, but through the interference of the Elector of Saxony, who submitted, that, as the offence occurred in Germany, the offender should be tried before a tribunal in that

country, he was commanded to appear at Augsburg before the Pope's legate, who insisted on submission and retraction, both of which Luther plainly refused to make, unless convinced of his error. From the first he had taken his stand upon the written word of God, and to this he uniformly appealed. He became involved in various disputations with some of the most learned doctors of the time. His fame was now everywhere. Even the royal pen of a Tudor was provoked against him. At the instance of the Pope, he was obliged to appear several times to answer for his conduct, but he always had the same reply, — that he would neither submit nor retract, unless convicted of error from the Holy Scriptures.

The 15th of June, 1520, was an evil day for Rome. Then it was she issued the bull of excommunication against Martin Luther. To this suicidal act the Pontiff was incited by some of his immediate advisers, who had more zeal than judgment, and were more impelled by their own passions than guided by knowledge of the man against whom they were proceeding. Instead of being intimidated and crushed by this act, as his short-sighted adversaries thought he would be, Luther was incensed, and seemed to gather double courage. The Pope had publicly and ignominiously burned his writings, as well as excommunicated him as an obstinate heretic, to be delivered over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh; and the denounced monk was determined not to be a whit behind his powerful adversary. He was resolved to retaliate word for word, and act for act. Leo the Tenth had assailed him as Pope, and Martin Luther was determined to stand on his rights as a man. An humble monk, the son of a poor miner at Eisleben, fearlessly confronted one of the illustrious family of the Medici, seated on the Pontifical throne. Leo the Tenth, in the name of the Church, had, by a public edict, pronounced Luther the monk an obstinate heretic, to be cut off from the community of the faithful, and shunned by all good Christians. Luther the monk, in the name of Christianity, did, by solemn protest, pronounce Leo the Tenth "a heretic and apostate, — misguided, hardened, and condemned by the Holy Scriptures." The Pope of Rome had in his own city summoned his courtiers and cardinals, and caused a pile to be erected and fired, into which, in presence of all, were thrown the writings of the monk of Wittemberg.

The monk of Wittemberg did in his own city collect his students and fellow-citizens, and cause a pile to be erected and fired, into which, in presence of all, he cast the canon law, and the decretals of Rome; and lastly, and with peculiar solemnity, was thrown into the flames the edict of excommunication issued against himself.

This act made the breach complete. An impassable chasm was now created between the monk of Wittemberg and the sovereign Pontiff. He had placed himself in a position from which there was no retraction, no return. He had not only set the Pope at defiance, but he had perpetrated the greatest possible insult to his authority; and he must abide the issue of a deed of such unparalleled daring.

Such were the circumstances and position of Luther, when Charles the Fifth, the young and newly elected emperor, arrived in Germany, and summoned the celebrated Diet at Worms. It was given out that the main purpose of this assembly was to adopt measures to check the progress of the new opinions. As soon as the Diet assembled, the legate from the court of Rome alleged that that body was bound at once to condemn a man whom the Pope had already excommunicated. Frederick of Saxony, however, insisted that Luther should have a hearing. To this great assembly, therefore, he was summoned, and a safe conduct granted for his journey. His friends were in great alarm at this, for they thought they saw in it his certain destruction. But no alarm seized the mind of Luther. He prepared to go, notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of his friends to desist. It was in vain they reminded him of the fate of John Huss. His blunt and well-known reply was, — "I am fairly called to go to Worms, and to Worms I will go, though there were as many devils there as tiles upon the houses." And to Worms he went.

What an august assembly was there! And how worthy of contemplation when the humble Augustinian monk stood before it! There he was, the conscientious and intrepid champion of human rights, pleading for himself, pleading for humanity, in presence of the collected power and grandeur of the world. Before him was the brilliant and imposing array of the crowned heads of Germany. Around him were lords temporal and spiritual, — dukes and bishops, archdukes and archbishops. The Papal emissaries were there, strong in the presumed power of their master, glancing envy

and hate at the fearless Reformer. Ambassadors from foreign courts were there, looking with intense eagerness on the scene which they were soon to depict for their courtly employers at home. The flower of the empire's greatness thronged that court, — its pride of blood and pride of learning, — and every eye was turned on Luther. And raised above all, presiding on the imperial throne, sat the illustrious son of an illustrious race, — Charles, the greatest monarch of his time, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was an august assembly, but the monk appeared undismayed before it. He neither bates nor falters. Luther cares not for crown, coronet, or crosier, when the truth is to be confessed and maintained. His language here is substantially the same as it had been before the less imposing tribunals. He is called on to retract; but his reply is characteristic, — marked by an unbroken resolution, and a striking simplicity. "If I am not convinced by proof from Holy Scriptures, or by cogent reasons, ... I neither can nor will retract; for," he continues, "it cannot be right for a Christian to speak against his conscience." And then, casting his eloquent eye around that great assembly which was to pronounce his fate, he added, — "Here I am, — I cannot say otherwise; — God help me!"

It was on his way from the Diet at Worms, that the friendly seizure of his person was made, when he was carried away to the castle of Wartburg. Here he was kept until the dangerous violence of the storm had in a good degree abated. This place of concealment he was accustomed to call his Patmos. Here, like Elijah in the wilderness, he had to hide from the vengeance his truth-telling spirit had provoked. But he was not idle in his retirement. He wrote many useful tracts, and sent them among his friends to encourage and strengthen them. In his seclusion at Wartburg he commenced what may be called his greatest work, — we mean his translation of the New Testament into the common language of the country. But it was not finished here, for the violent proceedings of Carlostadt induced Luther to emerge from his retirement, and appear publicly at Wittemberg once more. Here he remained, preaching and writing, sometimes against the ancient corruptions of Rome, and sometimes against the further innovations of fellow-reformers more radical than himself. When about forty years of age, he married Catharine de Bora, in whom he

found a faithful and affectionate wife, notwithstanding the little charges of pettishness sometimes urged against her. After a life of constant and untiring exertion until his sixty-third year, he died at Eisleben, to which place he had gone with the view of effecting a reconciliation between the two counts of Mansfeld, who were then at variance. He attended the conferences at Eisleben until the 17th of February, on which day he was seized with his last illness, which speedily terminated in his death. His remains were conveyed to Wittemberg, and interred there on the 22d of February, 1546.

In looking at the character of Luther, the first thing that strikes our notice is his amazing intrepidity, and his great firmness in maintaining whatever advanced ground he was led to occupy. We have ample proof of the former in the bold act of his putting forth the theses at Wittemberg. And although we find him occasionally changing his ground, his movement is never retrogressive. The evidence of his intrepidity is multiplied through his whole life. His boldness seems to increase in proportion to the width of the chasm which separates him from the Papacy. It does not seem that Luther contemplated any rebellion against the Pope when he protested against the indulgences. His strong persuasion of the enormous evil of these conspired with his natural boldness of disposition to make him utter a distinct and determined voice against them; but at this time he would have cut off his right hand rather than have assailed the person or the authority of the Pope. When he uttered his powerful word he was astonished at the general sympathy he received, and as Rome began to threaten and denounce him, instead of attempting to remove the evils of which he complained, he began to perceive likewise that there were other powers in heaven and earth besides those which dwelt in the Vatican. The Sacred Scriptures had long been his favorite study. In them he recognized the pure source of truth, he imbibed the doctrines he found there as best he could, and in the exercise of an earnest faith he held communion with his God, without recognizing any ecclesiastical intervention. Luther was accustomed to feel the power and the presence of God. And as the students of Wittemberg gave to his propositions a loud and welcome response, which was heard reverberating more or less throughout the country, he began to perceive further that there was some earthly power in Germany as well as in Rome.

Luther's progress in this respect is worthy of note. It may be seen by his letters as given in M. Michelet's book. It was on the 31st of October, 1517, that he attached his theses to the door of Wittemberg church. The news of the controversy soon reached Rome. And in a letter bearing date "Day of the Blessed Trinity, 1518," Luther addressed a letter to the Pope, in which his language is most dutiful and submissive. "Most holy Father," he says, "I cast myself at your feet, with the offer of myself and all that is in me. Pronounce the sentence of life or death; call, recall, approve, disapprove; *I acknowledge your voice to be the voice of Christ who reigns and speaks in you.*" In the course of the next March he addressed another letter to the Pope. In the mean time he had disputed with the Papal legates, and had fully felt his superiority over them. He had been cited to appear at Rome, but found he had friends among the princes who could influence the Vatican so far as to have the place of trial changed to the German city of Augsburg. In the mean time, too, the Emperor Maximilian had been heard to say, — "What your monk is doing is not to be regarded with contempt; the game is about to begin with the priests. Make much of him; it may be that we may want him." The Emperor, however, died in January, 1519; and Frederick of Saxony, the friend of Luther, became vicar of the empire. The letter of Luther is dated March 3d. His style is still respectful, but there is an obvious change of tone when compared with the previous letter. The voice of the Pope and the voice of Christ are no longer identical. The Church, however, rules over all. Nothing is superior to it, *save Jesus Christ.*

"Most holy Father, I cannot support the weight of your wrath, yet know not how to escape from the burden. Thanks to the opposition and attacks of my enemies, my words have spread more widely than I could have hoped for, and they have sunk too deeply into men's hearts for me to retract them. In these our days, Germany flourishes in erudition, reason, and genius; and if I would honor Rome before her, I must beware of retraction, which would be only sullying the Roman Church still further, and exposing it to public accusation and contempt. It is they who, abusing the name of your Holiness, have made their absurd preaching subserve their infamous avarice, and have sullied holy things with the abomination and reproach of Egypt, that have done the Roman Church injury and dishonor with Germany. And as if this was not mischief enough, it is against

me, who have striven to oppose those monsters, that their accusations are directed. But I call God and men to witness, most holy Father, that I have never wished, and do not now desire, to touch the Roman Church or your sacred authority; and that I acknowledge most explicitly that this Church rules over all, and that nothing heavenly or earthly is superior to it, *save Jesus Christ our Lord.*"

Another year found him assuming a much more independent and daring attitude. The politic Miltitz, finding that menace was of no avail with the contumacious monk, had begun to flatter him. He had accepted Doctor Eck's challenge to a disputation at Leipsic, and had returned to Wittemberg only to issue new challenges to the champions of Rome, offering them at the same time a safe conduct from the Elector, and undertaking "to lodge them and pay their expenses." He had by this time arrived at a stage of experience in which he looked back upon his former mode of treating things with a feeling of regret, partaking somewhat of contempt.

"Whether willingly or not," he says, "I improve every day, pushed as I am, and kept in wind by so many masters of fence at once. Two years ago I wrote on indulgences; but in a style which makes me *deeply regret* I ever published the work. . . . . Would to God I could induce booksellers and all who have read my writings on indulgences to burn them, and not to leave a line behind, so that they would substitute for all I have said on the subject this one axiom, — Indulgences are bubbles devised by the sycophants of Rome!"

After a similar manner he "earnestly prays booksellers and readers" to burn his former writings on the Papal supremacy. In 1520 the bull of excommunication was issued against him, and this brought forth his pamphlet "Against the Execrable Bull of *Antichrist.*" Henceforth the Pope is dealt with in no measured terms. Rome and the Reformer are now at unqualified and deadly hostility.

From this progressive character of Luther's assaults upon Rome, it would appear that he did not so much lead the mind of the age, as simply expound it with a bold and fearless utterance. Public opinion, once set in motion, rose with a mighty swell, and carried its daring exponent triumphantly along with it. Luther's place was on the crest of the foremost billow, and this broke with tremendous force upon the ancient fabric of ecclesiastical corruption. It re-

quired a man of rare power to maintain the position. We know of no other man of his age who could have done so.

Luther's rudeness and violence were the natural results of his temperament and circumstances. His passions were strong and impetuous, his keen eye scanned the Papal corruptions to the core, he lived in a rude age, and he found himself menaced, abused, and assailed as a devil in human form. His language, therefore, is not always tuned to a mild key. In many parts it would be highly offensive to "ears polite." To look for a mild tone and a polished style in Luther's writings would be about as reasonable as to look for peaches on an apple-tree in winter. His violence, we admit, was a drawback on his character. But his violence, after all, was only an extreme manifestation of his constitutional energy; and what would the Reformer's character be, wanting this? Melancthon was mild, but Melancthon could never have done the work of Luther. He was not insensible to his own violence, however, and in this fact we perceive evidence of the strong, sound sense which marked his character. To Spalatin he writes: — "I cannot deny that I was more violent than I need have been; but they knew it, and should not have provoked the dog. You can judge by yourself how difficult it is to moderate one's fire and restrain one's pen." And to Brentius he writes: — "I seek not to flatter or deceive thee, and I do not deceive myself, when I say that I prefer thy writings to my own. It is not Brentius whom I praise, but the Holy Ghost, who is gentler and easier in thee. Thy words flow pure and limpid. My style, rude and unskilful, vomits forth a deluge, a chaos of words, boisterous and impetuous as a wrestler contending with a thousand successive monsters." And again: — "I am far from believing myself without fault, but I can at least glorify myself with St. Paul, that I cannot be accused of hypocrisy, and that I have always spoken the truth, perhaps, it is true, a little too harshly. But I would rather sin in disseminating the truth with hard words, than shamefully retain it captive."

The superstitions of Luther, also, resulted from his circumstances, and belonged to his times. The belief in apparitions and goblins was familiar to the age. He was subject to certain bodily ailments which could not fail to affect his mind, and the constant turmoil in which he was involved left its peculiar impress upon his spirit. As the world was imaged in the mind of the Reformer, it had all the portents of

approaching dissolution. The earth and the heavens were alike giving forth signs. "Gulfs opened" before his eyes ["before my own eyes] at eight o'clock in the evening," and "the heavens were seen in flames above the church in Breslau." Such tokens, he thinks, announce the last day. "The empire is falling, kings are falling, priests are falling, and the whole world totters; just as small fissures announce the approaching fall of a large house. . . . . The world hastens to its end, and I often think the day of judgment may well overtake me before I have finished my translation of the Holy Scriptures." From the peculiar character of Luther's mind, any belief that possessed it assumed a remarkable degree of vividness, and took the form of a distinct and palpable reality. His notion of a devil was not that of a mere spiritual existence, however real, exercising his diabolic sway by stealth and stratagem alone over the minds of men. The Devil, to his apprehension, was indeed a veritable personage, visible and tangible too, the frequent tormenter of his individual self, hating all mockery, and having a wholesome horror of drollery and good music. "An aged priest," says he, "at his prayers one day, heard the Devil behind him, trying to hinder him, and grunting as loud as a whole drove of pigs. He turned round, without manifesting the least alarm, and said, — 'Master Devil, you have caught what you deserved; you were a fine angel, and now you are a filthy hog.' The grunting stopped at once, for the Devil cannot bear to be mocked." Again he says: — "The best way to expel the Devil, if he will not depart for texts from Holy Scripture, is to jeer and flout him." "Those tried by temptations may be comforted by generous living; but this will not do for all, especially not for the young. As for myself, who am now in years, a cheerful cup will drive away my temptations and give me a sound sleep." "The best cure for temptations is to begin talking about other matters, as of Marcolphus, the Eulenspiegel, and other drolleries of the kind, etc. The Devil is a melancholy spirit, and cheerful music soon puts him to flight." But the most notable rencounter which the Reformer had with the Devil was during his seclusion in the castle of Wartburg. This we do not find noticed in M. Michelet's chapter on Luther's diabolic temptations. He appeared to him when he was commencing his translation of the Scriptures, and so threatening did he become in his aspect and attitude, that Luther in self-defence

flung the ink-bottle at his head. And, like the mark of Rizzio's blood on the floor of Holyrood House, so is the mark of Luther's fractured ink-bottle still shown, on the wall of his chamber in the castle of Wartburg, to the curious traveller who visits that interesting place.

Such weaknesses of the Reformer stand in striking contrast with his general boldness of character and soundness of judgment. But the combination of superstitious weakness and great intellectual strength has been by no means singular in times past. Bacon, philosopher as he was, had a firm faith in witchcraft. The Reformer and the Philosopher were the greatest men of their respective ages; but the popular superstitions which they imbibed with their mother's milk, and to which their wondering childhood had listened with eager ears and trembling delight, took a deeper root in their nature than did the commonly received theological and philosophical doctrines which became the study of their more mature years. Luther's mental vision was vigorous and distinct, and his aim practical. He glanced through sophism, subtlety, and pretence. Hence his victories over Rome and her doctors, which still inspired him with confidence and courage. He had no desire to ascend into the clouds, but always strove to secure solid ground beneath his feet, and was well contented to remain there. He had scarcely patience with the mysticism of some of his contemporaries. His mode of treating one of them throws a ray of light upon his character which we may introduce here. One Marcus, a mystic, sought an interview with him.

"After talking a long time," says Luther, "about the *talent* that must not be hid, and about *purification*, *weariness*, *expectation*, I asked him who understood his language. He answered, that he preached only before believing and able disciples. 'How do you know that they are able?' I asked. 'I have only to look at them,' he replied, 'to see their *talent*.' 'What talent, now, my friend, do you see in me?' 'You are still,' he answered, 'in the first stage of *mobility*; but a time will come when you will be inthe first stage of *immobility*, like myself.' On this, I adduced to him several texts of Scripture, and we parted. Shortly after he wrote me a very friendly letter, full of exhortations; to which my sole answer was,—'*Adieu, dear Marcus.*'"

It is quite evident that Master Marcus and Doctor Luther were in very different latitudes of thought.

Nowhere, we think, throughout Luther's career, did he show more tact and judgment than in his interference in

the matter of the insurgent peasants. The masses of the people, debased and ground down by long feudal tyranny, when they saw the spell of authority broken in things spiritual, were not slow to carry the spirit of revolt into things temporal. Luther and his associates had humbled priestcraft, and declared themselves independent of the power that tyrannized over them. But *noblecraft* required to be humbled likewise. So thought the oppressed and ill-treated peasants of Western Germany. The priest ruled the soul, but the noble ruled the body, and that too with a rod of iron. Until his despotism was levelled to the dust, the indignant peasants looked upon the Reformation as incomplete. They moved in thousands, with all the enthusiasm and desperation of men aroused to a sense of their wrongs. Partial revolts had been made prior to the Reformation, but never had matters assumed so serious an aspect as at this time. Luther was charged as the primary author of these calamities. But no man grieved for them more. The Thuringian peasants were under the leadership of Munzer, a rash and sanguinary man, who paid the penalty of his violence by the forfeit of his life. The Suabian peasants were more moderately advised, and their address and twelve articles of grievance remain a remarkable monument of their innate sense of right, and proper temper in asserting it. Luther undertook the office of arbiter between them and the nobles. This was a delicate task, and not without some danger. But he executed it judiciously and well. In his address in reply to the articles of the peasants, he employs neither evasion nor circumlocution in letting the nobles know their faults and oppressions. He is alive to the wrongs of the peasants, and sympathizes with them. He exhorts them to "prosecute their enterprise conscientiously and justly." He dissuades them from violence, as being contrary to Gospel law. He shows both parties that neither is "maintaining a Christian cause," the nobles being guilty of oppression and injustice, and the peasants threatening vengeance for their own wrongs. He recommends them to select delegates to arrange the matter in dispute, in order that fighting, with its sins and horrors, may be averted.

We cannot overlook the inconsistency of Luther in his conduct in relation to the polygamy of the Landgrave of Hesse. But we are not desirous of enlarging on it at present. We are far from insisting on perfection of character for

the great Reformer. His excellences were many, but he was not without his faults. In social and domestic life he was open, cheerful, generous, and kind. It is interesting to compare Luther at the domestic hearth, with his family and friends, with Luther at Leipsic or Worms, in the arena of disputation or before the tribunal of judgment. His faith in God was vivid and powerful, and his trust constant. His trials in life were many and various, but he held on his way faithfully, and in his day and generation did his work manfully and well.

In closing this notice of the career and character of Martin Luther suggested by the book before us, it may not be out of place to offer a remark on the essential basis of the Reformation. What, let us ask, was the fundamental principle of this great Reformation, of which Luther was so powerful an instrument? It was the authority of Scripture alone, with the involved right of private judgment. We perceive this in the replies he constantly gave to the demands made on him to submit and retract. Whether before the individual legate, or before an august assembly of princes, prelates, and nobles, his answer was, — "Unless I am convinced from Holy Scriptures, I will not retract." The right of the individual mind to inquire for itself, and the sufficiency of the written word as a rule of faith and practice, — these, we say, were the fundamental points of the Reformation.

This view of the matter leads us to regard the work of the great Reformer in a correct light. His name and memory are to be venerated; not, however, because he was the rectifier of religious doctrine, but because he was the asserter of human rights. Luther retained doctrines as unsound and erroneous as some which he discarded. Consubstantiation, as far as it is intelligible, is as absurd as transubstantiation. He had not a sufficiently cool temper for a sound theologian. He rejected the Epistle of James because he could not make it harmonize with his interpretation of St. Paul, and stigmatized it as worthless. Justification by faith alone was a favorite doctrine with him. When he assailed the indulgences, he was led to assert this doctrine in opposition to the Papal dogma of superfluous merit, upon which the theory of indulgences was based. From this circumstance it acquired, we think, an undue ascendency in his mind. Melancthon, his intimate friend and fellow-laborer, did not agree with him in his views concerning justification by faith alone. It

seems surprising that persons should be found to speak of any peculiar doctrine of the Reformation; since no historical fact is more clearly ascertained, than that there was a diversity of opinion among the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Look at Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Zwingle, Socinus; who requires to be told that among these there was diversity of opinion? But they all agreed in renouncing Church authority, and accepting the Holy Scriptures as their standard, and asserted the right of the individual mind to think and judge for itself in matters of religion.

The plain truth is, that Luther and the first Reformers, by asserting this principle and standing on it as they did, laid the *basis* of the Reformation. And to whatever extent they availed themselves of it, and acted upon it in clearing away errors and abuses, to that extent they commenced and carried on the *work* of reformation. At best, however, the labors of Luther and his associates can be regarded only as a commencement. The accumulated errors of fifteen centuries could not be swept away at once. The work of religious reform has still to be carried on. The simple form of Christianity is yet sadly marred by human additions; and the obligation remains upon us all to do our part in restoring it to its primitive purity and loveliness. J. C.

Art. VII. — THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS.*

The author of the work before us seems to consider the political class of whom he treats as an almost neglected topic, until a very recent day. Our own experience leaves us not without a fellow-feeling of the difficulties attending such a research. It is scarcely half a dozen years since that, having engaged to render some account of a portion only — though a very select and respectable one — of this obnoxious body, we were met at the threshold by the want of some work speaking of them otherwise than in the most cursory or casual manner. Of this sort are the references by Hutchin-

* *The American Loyalists, or Biographical Sketches of the Adherents to the British Crown in the War of the Revolution; alphabetically arranged, with a Preliminary Historical Essay.* By Lorenzo Sabine. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 720.

son, in the latter half of the third volume of his History, to the members of our Massachusetts Assembly who were well affected to the crown; — notices so slight and meagre as poorly to satisfy, if they even stimulated, curiosity. Within the brief period, however, just named, have appeared the Journal and Letters of Curwen, a Salem "absentee" (1842), the Life of Peter Van Schaack, of New York (1842), a person of much higher weight of talent and character and a much valued friend of Mr. Jay, and Colonel Simcoe's "Operations of the Queen's Rangers" (1844), a partisan corps made up entirely of Southern loyalists. But earlier than all, be it remembered, were (so far as they went, — that customary qualifying phrase) certain sketches of graduates of Harvard of anti-revolutionary principles at the opening of the Revolution. These nameless memorials took refuge under the covers of the American Quarterly Register, a work whose cessation (we should be rather glad to say suspension) many of us yet mourn; and have not come, we are constrained to infer, under Mr. Sabine's notice, though, on the other hand, not a few things in his volume, both facts and dates, puzzle us a little in thus believing.

That the class of men in question have not before this been a subject of distinct, separate consideration, amply as the period of the Revolution has been illustrated in our day, is no less matter of wonder than of regret. The delay, too, has been seriously prejudicial to our getting, with the desired precision, points of personal history. One generation at least, if not more, now in every case intervenes between the actors and their biographers. It will be readily seen how greatly it adds to this embarrassment, when those of whom one is in quest have died in a foreign land, and left not a vestige of themselves behind. This is the first form of the twofold difficulty which attends inquiries touching the American Loyalists. The several Hutchinsons and Olivers have become names only of the memory, which may be said also of Richard Lechmere, of Auchmuty, of William Browne of Salem, of Jonathan Sewall, of James Putnam, father and son. No pulse hereabouts now beats with the blood of the lordly Vassals of Cambridge, Boston, and Quincy. Commodore Loring of Jamaica Plain, one of the commissioners of excise, Colonel Murray of Rutland, whose rotundity made him a butt as the Falstaff of his day, and Colonel Royall of Medford (except that he still lives in his bounty to Cam-

bridge), all are gone, root and branch. The Hon. John Chandler of Worcester, whose sons and daughters were as numerous as those of his royal master, and with whose family every other leading family of the region was proud to entwine itself by marriage alliance, sleeps far away from the town and shire of whose honors he had almost the monopoly, and the very name had there died out, as we learn from Lincoln, a full generation ago. As to the Borlands, the Ervings, the Brinleys, saving some little qualification, the same statement may essentially be made.

But other families there were who either returned or remained, the latter breasting, as they best could, the antipathy to which they were subjected. With the descendants of too many of these there exists a foolish weakness or false shame, which leads to the disguising or varnishing over of the real position taken by their friends at the crisis of the Revolution. Here lies the other part of the twofold difficulty referred to which meets the antiquary. The common explanation resorted to in behalf of such is, to rescue their patriotism at the expense of their firmness or courage. How much is thus gained to the final reputation of those concerned may well admit of doubt. They approved, it is said, no more than others, the arbitrary course of government, but were dismayed at the prospect of so hopeless a struggle, and bowed before the storm. Rightly understood, however, that they thought not so badly as their friends of this or that measure of the colonial policy is really no blot upon their escutcheon. Who takes it upon him to say, that the opinions in the one instance were not as likely to be independent and honest as in the other? for, of course, our query applies not to the office-holders, but to the gentry simply, the majority of whom were as sincerely and confidently on the same side of the question. Patriotism and loyalty are not, of necessity, at swords' points at all, however thus arrayed in common speech; and in fact, we do not doubt, that among those who to the last hour "honored the king," not only were to be found the most liberal and public-spirited of the community, (it was, perhaps, their place of right so to be), but as true friends and seekers as any of their country's good, — as they understood it. But the timidity of those claiming kindred with them in our day, at which we have hinted, that desires to throw a veil over this part of their history, is all a mistake; sometimes, to be sure, amusing, when it does not,

as now and then happens, tread on the verge of truth. The writer of a very brief sketch of Major Thomas Brattle (Mass. Hist. Coll.) wastes most of his space — very suspiciously, we think — in eulogium upon him as an excellent patriot; and when we were first told, to our surprise and almost skepticism, of Curwen himself, as having been a refugee, we at once recurred (sure of having seen it) to the notice of him which followed his decease (Salem Gazette), and lo! an ostracism of ten years was not an event in the life of a quiet citizen thought worth even alluding to.

The position of Mr. Sabine has been, as he rightly conceives, very favorable to the service which he has undertaken, of ferreting out the history of a class of men over whom to such an extent obscurity has come, and — as may be thought from our preceding remarks — who have themselves seemed to wish to help forward that result. Among those who finished their course in the Provinces, — for aught we know, the majority, — he probably felt himself entirely at home. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick might be almost said to have been colonized anew with the peace of 1783; the latter, from the large accession given it by "the fifty-five grantees," of whom Abijah Willard of Lancaster was the principal, it was thought best to organize as a distinct government, and St. John's, St. Andrew's, and other places, then took a start in their growth, which might rather justify calling it the date of their origin. Whatever his Majesty lost by the unhappy Revolution, certain it is that his Majesty's Northern colonies gained immensely. It shows most strikingly the previous paucity of educated men in that region, that in 1815, when Edward Winslow the younger (of Plymouth) made by his death a breach in their number, the entire bench of New Brunswick was composed of American Loyalists, three of the four, including the chief justice, being sons of Harvard. Mr. Sabine, however, does not seem to have depended upon, or contented himself with, the vantage-ground afforded by his observatory station, but to have visited, or corresponded with, the remoter and southern portions of the Union, and to have explored *con amore* and with laudable diligence the Acts of the various State assemblies, and the few other sources of information that yet remain. In truth, so far as sectional and prevalent sentiment on the great question was concerned, it is idle to the last degree to dispute that the stronghold of the royal cause was in the trans-Potomac colonies; and fur-

ther, we believe there were more Loyalists in the Middle States than in New England. No name, for example, in the latter could boast of equal potency and influence with the Delancey house of New York. The author, it is pleasant to find, is entirely of our opinion on this head, and enters upon this, as some may think, delicate subject with a becoming freedom, feeling that in a thorough survey of the public mind such a comparative view was unavoidable, and that he was fully sustained. Though the South Carolina statesmen of the present day, he observes, have urged that "her patriotic devotion" at the time of the great struggle "was inferior to none, and exceeded most of the confederated States," yet, tried by the law and the testimony, it was not so. "Some gallant Whigs she sent to the field, and several wise ones to the council." But as "one swallow makes not summer," according to the homely saying, so the names of the elder or younger Laurens, of Middleton, and Rutledge, in debate, or of Marion, Sumpter, and Pickens in the strife, will do little "to prove that the Whig leaven was diffused through the mass of the people."

Mr. Sabine's statements are not only, without doubt, well founded, but to any one aware of the very unlike character of the opposite extremes of the country they commend themselves as perfectly natural and credible. The dividing line between the grades of Southern society was more broadly defined and obvious, slavery apart, than there is any idea of among us. It is so at this day, we presume, but the remark was far more true then; the condition of things being, in all material points, analogous to that in the mother-land. The "distinction of ranks" once admitted and carried into life, and the higher gentry regarded as a virtual nobility, from that platform the upward eye will be turned with admiring envy and special reverence to the rank which is the highest of all and the fountain of all, and which is felt to be the more august from being distant and unseen. This inclination to the crown, Episcopacy — which was there, to all intents, the Establishment — cherishes and matures into a fixed habit of the mind.

Our author, in proof of his point, goes on to show in detail, from authentic documents, the relative proportion of troops furnished to the field by the different portions of the Confederacy, presenting Massachusetts (as every body knows already) on a proud elevation. The number contrib-

uted by Virginia and the Carolinas is truly meagre, and almost ludicrously so, when compared with their population; so much of the military array of the land being found under the opposite banner. South Carolina, in particular, says Mr. Sabine, "furnished only 752 more than Rhode Island, the smallest State of the confederacy; only one fifth of the amount of Connecticut; only one half as many as New Hampshire, then an almost unbroken wilderness. She could not defend herself against her own Tories; and it is hardly an exaggeration to add, that more Whigs of New England were sent to her aid, and now lie buried in her soil, than she sent from it to every scene of strife from Lexington to Yorktown." But to these facts we do but allude. Our own province and purpose is of another kind. We do not, indeed, think to take cognizance of the author in the largest extent of his title, "American Loyalists"; but prefer, in the remarks that follow, to come nearer home, — to our own native region, and especially to the educated men, which term, to be sure, is to so great an extent identical with the party.

At the very threshold, the tests of loyalty it is not in all cases very easy to settle beyond dispute. There are a half-hundred or more names in his biographical sketches, where the author has no overt act to allege, it would appear, but the having been an "addresser" * of Hutchinson or Gage at coming into office or retiring from it. There is good reason, probably, to include the far greater part of such signers, without looking further; not excepting such as did not scruple to disavow what they had done, upon "finding it gave offence to their countrymen." Having glanced at this feature of those times, it is not easy to avoid saying that the tone and language of these recantations were, with few exceptions,† quite humble enough, after allowing all that should be allowed for the risks and the fears of those who made them. Now and then, indeed, one might think that these same risks had been

* Thus, the author includes in his catalogue George Bethune, a merchant of Boston, and Shearjashub Bourne, a native of Scituate, and barrister in Bristol, R. I, both sons of Harvard. We have not hitherto reckoned them as of the party, yet he may be right. Indeed, as to Bethune he names some other circumstances favoring such an opinion. One unknown Loyalist, however (Moses Gerrish), Mr. Sabine's book has revealed to us, and him we gratefully accept, without demur or question.

† The worthiest ones in the Boston papers, 1765 – 1775, that occur to us, are those of Richard Clark, tea-consignee and merchant, and of William Browne, of Salem, afterwards governor of the Bermudas.

quite too much for the sincerity and truth of the writers, keeping in mind their decided course in the sequel. A paper of this sort by Colonel Royall, of Medford, comes up before us at this moment in illustration; a man who, to be sure, was, by tradition, of a most womanly timorousness. As to certain of these individuals, it is safe to presume that their names were extorted from them by over-solicitation; since they are not known to have afterwards committed themselves, or rather were, in the view of all candid judgment, good friends to their country's cause. Even of this slight and solitary act they had probably in their after-career good reason, not to be ashamed, indeed, but to repent; since, in the unscrupulous and base devices of high party times, no circumstances of a man's early life escape the search of the hunters, and all means towards victory are counted "fair in politics." Again, a better evidence of loyalty, at least of standing well in the good graces of the vicegerent of power, was the post of mandamus counsellor; but which, however much valued on that score, was too hazardous an honor greedily to clutch at for at least two or three years before the final outbreak. Then, once more, there are the proscribing and the confiscating Acts of the several State legislatures. But the lists of the former are strangely imperfect, — speaking at least for that of Massachusetts, with which we are most familiar; and the actual execution of the latter was a thing so uncertain, as to be liable to be averted almost at the last moment by some happy interposition.

In fact, a strange obscurity hangs over the real fate of some noted estates, even within the environs of the city. Much as the local histories — unknown till our happy time — are to be prized, it would be to the authors of some of them (either published or in expectancy) an item worthy of special regard, to designate the houses upon which this sombre mark has been affixed. But as reliable testimony, we assure these historiographers, vulgar tradition is little to be heeded. They must go deeper than that. Yet the roll of these doomed mansions throughout the whole State is not, we suppose, very large, and the towns as to which the exactness and skepticism enjoined by us are specially needful are very few. Besides our metropolis (the number of such residences in which we venture not to conjecture), four or five other places at once suggest themselves, — as Cambridge, Quincy, Salem, Portsmouth, Worcester, etc. It is our impression,

without time or trouble bestowed, that in the first-named there were double the number of confiscated estates to that of any other place in the State. All the houses,* as we suspect, then standing upon what is called the Watertown road, from John Vassal's *palace* (which the general-in-chief of the rebel forces did not disdain for his quarters) and his uncle's, Colonel Henry Vassal, nearly opposite, for a mile upward, to Thomas Oliver's (now Rev. Dr. Lowell's), came under this ban ; unless, indeed, excepting that of Judge Lee. That of Sheriff Phips (afterwards the seat of William Winthrop), the well-known Borland house, and, we were just about to say, the Brattle estate, might be added to the list. But the latter (so says Mrs. John Adams, — Letters) was saved from this decree by a single vote in the Massachusetts Assembly ; so greatly to the popular indignation, that several members who helped to make that majority were thrown from their places in the next House. Major Thomas Brattle, returned from his exile, had been for two years awaiting at Newport in suspense and solicitude the uncertain movement of the popular tide. That there were two confiscated estates in Quincy was commonly told by the few contemporaries who till a late period survived ; one being the residence of the ex-President, bought by his father (then in England) through his agent here shortly after the peace ; the other, that in the occupancy of the venerable John Greenleaf, to whom it descended from his father-in-law, the late Hon. Richard Cranch. But it has come out that the latter was purchased from a West India emigrant and alien, even prior to the spring of 1775 ; and thus the local tradition is entirely at fault.† Again, Martin Gay of Boston

* Their occupants were the chief pillars, doubtless, of the then recent church, which some, probably with the instinctive eye of taste, without the aid of fashion, were early prompted to admire, and which has continued for a century nearly to be the pride of the region around. Prefixed to the Dedication Sermon of Christ Church, Oct. 1761, by East Apthorp, we find the list of the building committee. Their names — it would be a wrong to these pioneers of a true architecture to let them die — are David Phips, John Vassal, Thomas Oliver, Richard Lechmere, Ralph Inman, Henry Vassal. *Four* of these died in a foreign land. The last might have been safely counted as a *fifth*, if death had not spared him, coming as it did in 1769, the pain of witnessing rebellion. The last but one was the possessor of the well-known Inman place, within the limits of Cambridgeport, which, till since the present century began, was a solitary house. He was, doubtless, in politics with the others, as his son George (Harv. Coll. 1772) died a captain in the British service at Barbadoes, W. I., in 1789.

† We have never been able, with all our pains, clearly to make out

(son of the old patriarch of Hingham, and father of Samuel Gay, Esq., who died at Fort Cumberland, N. B., the last winter) was "an absentee," and his house in Union street was doomed. But his wife, whom he *providentially* left behind, fertile in expedients, by a device too minute to be clearly described, and too extended for our space, outwitted the spoilers, and the husband regained his own. All these go to show that which at the outset we laid down, — to wit, that between "the cup and the lip" much might happen; nor was it easy at once to decide what was that ultimate source of evidence beyond which lay no appeal.

Before parting with this subject of confiscation, it may be as well to add, that all accounts seem to agree, that the fruits of the forfeited property were any thing but gratifying; unless, indeed, it were to the losers, to whom it might thus administer some poor solace. The sales, though, to judge from the Boston papers, deferred for the most part to near the close of the war, — in some cases, perhaps, to a still later date, — were even then precipitate and too early. The impoverished condition of the country was the fatal obstacle in the way of the costliest estates within its borders being worthily disposed of. As we once heard it stated by an aged friend whose college course was nearly completed when peace returned, "the proceeds were hardly enough to satisfy the dues of the auctioneer." Curwen appears to cast all the reproach and guilt at the door of the commissioners; and, writing from Salem almost directly after reaching the shore, in 1785, says, that owing to "the knavery of these rapacious harpies, not two pence in the pound had accrued to the treasury." But they were not enriched, at least, upon his ruin. Curwen, from all that we can gather, "came to his own" again; and his indignation, therefore, as being unselfish, will to some appear singular. The residences in question, in some cases, well

whether Colonel Royall's seat (the well-known Tidd place) at Medford was finally wrested from him. On a public occasion, within the last five years, when the colonel and his bounty were the subjects of notice by a speaker who would be commonly esteemed not likely to err, the contrary was implied; at least, to our apprehension. Yet a letter in the Historical Society's cabinet (still in manuscript) from the exile in London to Edmund Quincy the elder, written near the close of the war, presents surely a discrepance. Its tone is lugubrious, as denoting that he had been a sufferer; while his apology for being found abroad after the drama opened, and for his long-delayed return, is very unsatisfactory. After all, since Colonel Royall never returned, and his two only sons-in-law (sons he had none) were refugees, one is naturally led to ask, who was his successor in the estate?

met the exigencies of the public service, when, indeed, better might not have been readily found. During the brief time of Washington's head-quarters at Cambridge, the Vassal seat was well devoted in having so stately a master; whose audience-chamber and bed-chamber some persons undertake even now to specify. John Borland's castle-like mansion, during the autumn and winter following the capitulation of Saratoga, was consigned to the captive generals, Burgoyne and Phillips, with their suites.

To return to the other Act, — the proscribing, — and add a few words to our unfinished notice. That of the Massachusetts Assembly, as already said, was strangely defective. We are puzzled to find a solution for the absence of such names as Colonel Frye of Salem, "Master" John Lovell of Boston, Edward Winslow of Plymouth, the father, Thomas Bernard (son of the governor, and afterwards a baronet), Upham of Brookfield, and as many more, certainly, who readily come to our pen, — for the position of no one of these surely could be called at all equivocal. Curwen, in a letter from London, just after receiving the Act (that is, in 1778), for which he and his brethren were doubtless looking with no little anxiety, expresses his wonder to find in it but four Salem names, whereas there were no less than thirteen exiles. Though feeling ourselves, if we anywhere might, at home in such a survey, we are hard pushed to make out this series. One is inclined to smile at Curwen's seeming disappointment at the omission of his own name; for he says, naturally enough, that by including it a stronger passport would have been secured to the favor of his protectors. As Mr. Sabine's researches have led him to ascertain and note the number of the subjects of proscription by the decree of various Provincial assemblies, the comparison, in this respect, of States is not without interest. Massachusetts, which has the longest list, counts three hundred and eight, whom it dooms, if ever found within its borders, to imprisonment and eventual banishment, and for the offence of a second return, to capital punishment. Perhaps one fifth of the whole number are from the middle, sometimes even from still humbler, classes of society; for loyalty was not limited, though it is common thus to believe, within patrician ranks. New Hampshire banishes from her limits seventy-six, and declares twenty-eight estates forfeited. The effects of fifty-nine were confiscated in New

York; but other Acts imply that the enemies of the cause much exceeded this number. Pennsylvania calls upon sixty-two persons to surrender themselves for trial for treason, who, failing to do so, are pronounced attainted; thirty-six estates were confiscated by an Act of later date. The like decree in Delaware embraced forty-six estates, and in North Carolina, sixty-five. Under different shades of attachment to the royal interest, two hundred and fifteen persons in South Carolina were amerced twelve per cent. of the value of their estates, deprived of them wholly, or banished. A large class of these were "addressers" of Sir Henry Clinton after the surrender to him of Charleston by General Lincoln; some part of whom were even petitioners to be armed and employed on the royal side. The Acts of Maryland, New Jersey, Virginia, and Georgia on the same subject do not enable us to exhibit any statistics.

In our own State, it is truly curious to notice how the *esprit de corps*, or some other bond, has knit together in political fellowship nearly all the members of the same profession, within certain local limits, though the remark may not be true elsewhere. The Worcester bar, almost to a man, are registered by their biographer as more or less decidedly with the mother country.* The ascendency which James Putnam the elder maintained might partly explain this, — the Gamaliel to whose feet the young aspirants of the law resorted; John Adams among them, though somewhat too early to feel that influence, the parties which prepared the way for the Revolution having hardly yet arisen. But Putnam was the senior and probably the master-mind to Willard of Lancaster, Upham, Rufus Chandler, Jonathan Stearns, and others; while the noted Ruggles, who was in turn *his* senior, shared in full measure that influence with him. John Sprague of Lancaster stood nearly alone in his Whiggism. Then the physicians of Boston and vicinity — all the oracles at least — were about of one mind on the question of the day, — Lloyd, Danforth, Rand, Spring, Jeffries, and Kneeland, of whom one at least served as surgeon to the British wounded on the day of Bunker's Hill battle. Even the venerable Dr. Holyoke was deemed unfriendly to the Revolutionary movement. If there was any exception to this list, it was probably to be found in Drs. Bulfinch and

* Willard's Historical Address to the Bar of Worcester.

Aspinwall (of Brookline). The Congregational ministers of New England are sometimes hastily eulogized as being, "with very few exceptions," sound patriots when the crisis of their country came. But probably a third of the pulpits in western Massachusetts, and certainly those most to be coveted, were occupied by men of another stamp. Most of these, to be sure, were cautious and shrinking, whose dissent from the faith of the many was inferred from declining some request to preach a fast-sermon on the dark prospects of the country, or, again, from preaching upon some sarcastic or warning text,* whose sinister aim all saw or thought they could see, or lastly (after the method pursued in theology by a later generation of preachers), from their very silence on "the great doctrines," not of the Reformation, but the Revolution; while some few were decided enough to show themselves beyond either mere innuendoes or negatives. To the one class or the other belong Dana of Groton, Rogers of Littleton, Willard Hall of Westford, Fuller of Princeton, Lee of Royalston, Hill of Shutesbury, Hedge of Warwick, Morse of Boylston, Harrington of Lancaster, Whitney of Petersham, Ashley of Deerfield, and — to carry our glance a little beyond the State line — Livermore of Wilton. We enumerate all these names the rather, because Mr. Sabine seems unacquainted with any of them, saving Dana, Rogers, and Ashley. To speak of his omissions before we have done is our purpose; but it seems more convenient to anticipate this portion now. There were, in fine, more Loyalist ministers of this order within the limits we have now travelled over than in all the rest of the State twice told.

Mr. Sabine's attention has been drawn — as no one's, indeed, could fail to be, so long engaged with the subject — to the numerous instances in which the Revolution sundered the closest and strongest ties. It is indeed a curious and mournful catalogue, which we should be glad to extract here

* Dr. Gay of Hingham (overlooked by Mr. Sabine), after the successes of Trenton and Princeton, when the hope of the patriots revived afresh from the deepest dejection, and waxed confident, took for his text, — "Let not the rebellious exalt themselves"; while Fuller of Princeton, when his parishioners resolved to send forth a volunteer company raised in their vicinity with solemn forms of benediction, and he must needs officiate, kindled their ire, while he relieved his own conscience, by fixing upon the ominous words for his theme, — "Let not him that girdeth on the armour boast himself as he that putteth it off." Whitney of Petersham gave offence from the first of the causes mentioned above.

in full, if the space could be spared. But scarcely less curious or noticeable is the continual interlinking of Loyalist families together, here by blood and there by marriage; so that to know the direction which one influential mind has taken quite assures you as to the path of the rest. We give an example or two. John Vassal and Thomas Oliver (the last lieutenant-governor of the name), who lived, indeed, not a mile apart, were brothers-in-law by a double alliance. So was it with the elder sons and namesakes of Hutchinson and Judge (Peter) Oliver. John Borland married Anne, a sister of the three or four elder Vassals. One of these (Colonel Henry Vassal) married the sister of Colonel Royall; his only daughter and child was the wife of Dr. Charles Russell, of the great Charlestown family, while Colonel Royall found sons-in-law in the Ervings and the Sparhawks. The Brownes of Salem were entwined with the Wantons of Newport; the Wentworths with the Atkinsons, both of Portsmouth; the Waldos of Portland with Mr. Secretary Flucker, and also with the Winslows of Boston. The three leading Loyalist families of Worcester, the Chandlers, Putnams, and Paines, were all joined by a common link, and the same link united Colonel Murray of Rutland to the first of the three. But we must cut this enumeration short.

The longevity of this ill-starred class of men has often been a subject of remark, from which it might be thought their rough and romantic adventures had not very seriously affected either their spirits or their health. The consciousness of high-souled fidelity to principle, sometimes say their eulogists, secured to them a serene and prolonged old age. And this, on the other side, has been met by the witty retort, that the "seeing many days" was a judgment upon them, that they might be filled with a larger vision of the growth and prosperity of the land they had forsaken. This length of life it has fallen within the range of our inquiries to note, especially among those who have been educated at our Alma Mater. "The last survivor of his class" has very commonly chanced to be from among these men; and from the opening of the present century, some one of them has, in most of the successive triennial catalogues, held the distinction of "the oldest living graduate."* And yet from a

* These Nestors of their company pass readily in review before us; as, for example (without specifying the octogenarians of lesser age), Governor John Wentworth 83, William Vassal and Richard Clarke 85, Curwen and

passage in Curwen's Journal, near the close of the war (p. 368), and also from a list of names to be found, under the date of November, 1783, in our two ancient prints, the Salem Gazette and Massachusetts Spy, it was evidently then the belief that death had been busy in the ranks of the absentees.

The opportunity is not given us of testing our author's statistics as to the whole number of Loyalists who left the country during the contest, or on the withdrawal of the royal forces. Probably that was scarcely a smaller body which, mainly sympathizing with them, remained behind. But their loyalty was rather presumptive than positive; and as their overt acts were not so offensive that they need through the contest betake themselves to British protection, either at Boston first, or New York afterwards, there was nothing to enforce their departure at the last. We cannot, therefore, question with good warrant his statements, though there is a part of them somewhat startling. He says elsewhere,* that "of refugee Americans it is estimated that upward of twenty thousand arrived in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick before the close of October, 1783, and that before the beginning of the next year ten thousand had found their way to Canada." This may possibly be true; but that the number of Loyalists who took the field may be set down as "twenty thousand at the lowest computation," as estimated in the present work, utterly staggers our belief. Although the great majority of this large body — so we take for granted — are to be set down to the account of the Southern States, with which portion of country we pretend to have less acquaintance, the ratio it would bear to the whole effective force of his Majesty, at any and all periods within the command of Howe, Burgoyne, Clinton, and Cornwallis, appears most disproportioned. At the same time, we are at a loss what to say to the imposing show which the author presents in a note, of some military battalions, not to be readily counted, made up exclusively of native Americans. Mr. Sparks, in a note to his Washington, speaks of eleven hundred as being

George Jaffrey 86, "Brigadier" Ruggles, Mr. Sheriff Phips, and Dr. Danforth 87, John Erving and Daniel Leonard 89, Mr. Sheriff Greenleaf 92, Joseph Waldo 94, Colonel Frye 97, the long list being crowned by the centenarian, Judge Blowers.

* In an article in a contemporary journal (Review of Colonel Simcoe's History of the Operations of the Queen's Rangers, etc., in North American Review for October, 1844), well understood to have been by the author of this work.

about the number who embarked with the squadron on the evacuation of Boston. This, of course, includes many who found refuge there from the country after the battle of Lexington. Still, but few, if any, of these could have been ministers; yet in the classification of these emigrants by profession, the clerical has eighteen affixed to it. We are at a loss where to find so many, especially as, of the three or four Episcopalians of Boston, Mr. Parker of Trinity remained firm at his post, as also did McGilchrist of Salem, and Bass of Newburyport. Dr. Byles, who alone of the Congregationalists passed for a Tory, doggedly stood it through, content to be annoyed or to be confined, as the case might be, and feeling that in his quiver of puns and jests he had abundant revenge.

The Loyalists, who were such a thorn in the sides of their adversaries, there is reason to suspect were no little trouble and incumbrance to their friends. While in England, their annuities seem to have been reluctantly yielded by the crown; though the latter was prone to suspect, perhaps often not without reason, that it was imposed upon by an excessive show of losses and sacrifices. Curwen's account of the periodical renewal of these grants in 1782 (p. 367), not only shows the solicitude with which the end of their suspense was waited for by the beneficiaries, but also the frequent changes they underwent from year to year; seldom for the better, and commonly for the worse. "Mr. Williams [doubtless Seth Williams of Taunton] has married a West Indian lady with a fortune, and he is therefore stricken off." When the treaty of peace was in progress, the awkward and forlorn position of the Loyalists could not be kept out of view. One party to the treaty rather ungratefully pushed the claim, whose unsoundness was evident to the plain common-sense of the other; which was nothing less, as Franklin described it, than that they should be received and provided for "by their enemies, instead of by their friends." From more than one of his letters it is plain how much and how long the negotiation was embarrassed by this vexed question.

Mr. Sabine contends, — and we have here no dispute with him, — that the true policy of this country would have suggested an utter oblivion of the past. But whatever were the terms of the treaty (and it is not strange that in a formal state paper the new republicans were tenacious of having

mutual rights and claims put upon their true grounds), has not the principle he favors been that of actual practice? If so many emigrated to the Provinces, we must conclude that it was their own choice, and that the wild lands offered them on such easy terms were tempting enough to recommend in their eyes a strange soil. Much stranger it could not well appear than, after the lapse of some eight years, must have appeared that which they had forsaken. Certain it is, that very many of the absentees, instinctively yearning for their native land, returned to it as their last rest, though doubtless these made but a small proportion of the whole. Those only who were in too keen haste to do so with the earliest signals of peace were taught by nameless indignities and harassings that it could not be done with impunity; but this was all the penalty. Such was the reception of Elijah Williams of Deerfield and Keene, and some others, it may be; but Curwen tells us, that on his landing at Salem, even in 1785, he returned to his own door without seeing any one who met him with coldness or repulse. Men there were, doubtless, whose faces could not, indeed, after any interval, longer or shorter, be shown again to their countrymen. The lapse of time, however, would, in behalf of the many, exert its natural influence. The painful memory of the past becomes fainter; reviving prosperity dulls the edge of popular resentment; and penal laws, though unrepealed, become a dead letter in effect. As to what must be considered, after all, in this region, the *élite*, for the most part, of the Loyalist body, we have the means of giving, with tolerable accuracy, the relative numbers, according to the degree of their decision and distinct stand, or as they came forth more or less in bold relief to the rest of the public. Whether this may be taken as a fair specimen of the party in general, or will serve for other sections of the land, we cannot say. But of a hundred and seventy-nine graduates of Harvard to whom that name may be thought fairly to belong, more than fifty remained "in their lot," from which they wished not to be driven, and passive in their loyalty; twenty-six were temporary "absentees"; perhaps five died in America under British protection before the Peace (whose future course, therefore, had they lived, could not be foreseen), and ninety-four wholly expatriated themselves. Obviously, equal certainty cannot attach to every one of these names in their several connections.

We have left ourselves no space to speak of Mr. Sabine's individual sketches, much as we desire it; but must somehow make room to specify several omissions, as well as real or supposed errors of an opposite kind. We premise, as a clew to guide us to the individuals, that, in the history of their minds, they are all Harvardians. This remark applies to the omissions alone.

Samson Stoddard of Chelmsford (1730) was quite obnoxious in that place, as Allen informs us (History of Chelmsford), so that we have been led thus to number, not only him, but his sons Samson and Vryling (1763, 1765). Timothy Prout (1741), merchant, of Boston, died at New York under British protection, in the midst of the war. Thomas Steel (1730), also of Boston, who retired from the same profession to Leicester, and died early in the contest, was the only Loyalist of that place. (See Washburn's History.) Mr. Sabine omits Dr. Kneeland (1751), the respectable physician of Cambridge, and steward of the college, but who was at length thrown out from that office by the Overseers, after being elected by the Corporation (see Quincy's History); and John Wadsworth (1762), a tutor of singular popularity, but who, with his free speech, had wellnigh lost his chair, retaining it but by a single vote in the Board (Eliot's Biog. Dict., Art. Rogers, *note*; and Dr. Freeman's Sermon on George R. Minot, Esq.). Andrew Oliver (1749), the eldest son of the lieutenant-governor so named, and the well-known essayist on comets, was doubtless of the same political stamp with all his family, though, owing to his retiring and philosophical turn of mind, which averted odium, he alone rests in his native soil. The late aged physician of Salem, and the lamented and accomplished professor, formerly of Dartmouth College, were his descendants. William Mayhew (1767), of Martha's Vineyard, had been for two or three years sheriff of Dukes county, when, in 1775, his name appears for the last time; nor can we doubt the reason, especially as his death some years after occurred at Hudson, on the North river, N. Y., — as it would seem, a place of seclusion. John Stevens (1766) of Charlestown, a near connection of the Gorham family, but, withal, a straightforward and, possibly, eccentric man, became so obnoxious at home as to retreat to Concord, N. H., where he found himself no less so, and was, in a kind of alienation from society, buried in

a private lot of his own. To the same list belongs Samuel Cutler (1765), of Brookfield by origin, but early in life a trader at Edenton, N. C., though he eventually died at Bellows Falls, Vt., nearly thirty years ago. Why does Mr. Sabine pass by Nathaniel Sparhawk (a classmate of Cutler), early a merchant in Salem, who, undoubtedly, as well as his father, Colonel Sparhawk of Kittery-point, must be counted of the same party with his younger brothers, William Pepperell (who succeeded to his grandfather's baronetcy) and Samuel Hirst. That the elder brother was abroad much or most of the war is a clear matter of fact. George Eveleigh (1742), of South Carolina, comes before us once and again in Curwen's Diary; he speaks of him as a fellow-collegian, and may we not safely infer, a fellow-exile? Hon. James Sheafe (1774) of Portsmouth, N. H., then fresh from college, is said to have entered with youthful ardor into the royal cause; probably enough, through his connection by marriage with the Meserves. Whether this lasted through the war, we have no means of knowing; it continued long enough, at any rate, to become a part of his personal history, since there were those who in his subsequent political life never forgot to "keep it before the people." Mr. Sabine seldom loses sight of Episcopal ministers; yet Edward Winslow (1741), son of Joshua Winslow, a tea-consignee, was forced to leave the Quincy church (see Rev. B. C. Cutler's Historical Discourse), and died at New York before the Peace; and Joseph Domett (1762), also of Boston, for a short time over the Episcopal society at Marshfield, we believe, is supposed to have died at last in England or Ireland. Toryism seems, judging from the proscribing act, to have strangely flourished at Marshfield, — not a large place, surely; whether through the influence alone of such a man as "Nat" Ray Thomas, cannot now be decided. Levi Willard (1775), nephew of the brothers Abel and Abijah, returned from England in 1785, where he is thought to have sojourned most of the intervening time; at any rate, in Lancaster, his native place and final residence, the nature of his political attachments appears not to have been doubted. We regard as refugees, though their names are wanting here, Michael Joy (1771), of Boston, to whom, in some degree, is related the present family of that name in this city; Benjamin Loring (1772), the youngest son of the commodore; and Francis Brinley (1775), who was the nephew of Thomas Brinley of the

class of 1744, and confessedly within that category. Of the younger person of the last name we can indeed learn nothing whatever, and for that very reason infer, that, leaving college walls, as he did, while the tocsin was sounding, he forthwith left the country too, no more to return. We count also as such, with confidence, Joseph Dowse (1766), son of the surveyor and searcher of the ports of Salem and Marblehead, and who, as stated by Winthrop, was "a surgeon in the British army in the West Indies." Is there not, it may be queried, some probable reason, likewise, for so including William Checkley (1756), son of the minister of the New South Church, and who was an officer in the custom-house at Providence? But we are most surprised by Mr. Sabine's failure to record the names of some whose bones rest under the northern sky of our continent; as John Barnard (1762), a merchant at St. John's, New Brunswick, and brother of the late Rev. Dr. Barnard of Salem; John Thomas (1765), of Plymouth, one of the seven founders of the Old Colony Club (Thacher's Plymouth), and who died at Liverpool, Nova Scotia, in 1823; Jesse Rice (1772), a native of Marlboro', and who became, it is said on some authority, a physician in Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. We have ourselves very lately detected in Nathaniel Thomas (1774) a son of N. R. Thomas of Marshfield (spoken of on the last page), who followed his father to the Provinces. Mr. Sabine has made some confusion, we see, with the Isaac Winslows, of whom, we believe, he has three. The graduate of 1762 was not, as he imagines, the son of General John Winslow, and the physician who settled in Marshfield (who was not liberally educated); but a merchant in Boston, whose death was far earlier in date. Finally, we marvel that he so circumscribes the Vassal name. The elder William (1733) had a son of his own name (1771), to whom a place should have been given; while Lewis Vassal (1760), nephew and cousin respectively of the two, must have crossed the water, though no documents that illustrate the party even mention his name. His whole career is impenetrably dark, baffling, while it goads, curiosity, and we feel inclined to offer a reward to any one that can unearth him.

We had a few things more to say as to Mr. Sabine's opposite error, but are warned with every line we add how much we have trespassed already on our allowed limits. Yet we must hint that his discrimination surely failed him when he admitted into his pages some names, for whose

company high-souled and chivalrous spirits (such as were so many of those whom he has enrolled) will hardly feel obliged to him. Surely Benedict Arnold, Benjamin Church, and Silas Deane have no business here. That Deane's diplomatic life went down in a cloud, we indeed supposed; but, though we have never had a very exact idea of his case, have nowhere seen it branded in the manner the author would convey. As to the other two, we should never think of deeming Loyalist and traitor as interchangeable terms. Then, again, why does the author press into his service several names of such as ceased to have part or lot in what is done under the sun, years before it was enforced upon one to make the final decision. There may have been, indeed, a fair presumption what their course would have been, had opportunity been given. But this might have been affirmed of Colonel William Bourne of Marblehead, the two sons of Judge Oliver (Daniel and Andrew), who died "before their day," Henry Vassal, perhaps Judge Foxcroft of Cambridge, equally as of the younger Atkinson of Portsmouth, Rev. Dr. Miller of Quincy, Major Samuel Waldo of Portland, Hon. Chambers Russell, and Dr Barclay of Trinity Church, New York. Mr. Sabine introduces these last, as he does, too, Jeremy Gridley, at one period attorney-general. Why not, also, then, Benjamin Pratt, first of Boston, and finally chief-justice of New York, and whose condemnation it was to be the son-in-law of Robert Auchmuty? But when we think how numerous is the class whose names he records, scattered, too, over the length and breadth of the land, in too many cases brought into day from nooks and corners, it is, perhaps, more to his praise that he has kept his exact limits so well, — no oftener unjust to those without or within the circle. We respond, too, to his spirit, vindicating (as is, we believe, his desire) honored names from pitiable epithets and vulgar opprobrium; and are well pleased, at the lapse of two thirds of a century from the Revolution, to have so full and, generally, so faithful a dictionary of those whose impress upon it must be obvious to all.

But we must shake off the sway of a too attractive subject, and forbear. Had not Mr. Sabine, with another opportunity, better give to his long historical essay — what it so much needs — either a table of contents, a running-title, or a final index? J. P. D.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. By ANDREWS NORTON. Vol. I. Second Edition. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1846. 8vo. pp. 261 and cclxxvii.

Additions made in the Second Edition of the First Volume of Norton's Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels. Cambridge: J. Owen. 1846. 8vo. pp. 52.

THAT a second edition of Mr. Norton's first volume on the "Evidences of the Genuineness of the Gospels" has become necessary, within a period of ten years from the date of the original publication, affords gratifying proof, that, amid the general neglect into which critical theology has fallen, or is falling, among us, there is yet felt some lingering respect for works of thorough erudition and ripe scholarship. For the convenience of those who possess the first edition, all the important additions made in the second are here given in a pamphlet, in type corresponding to that of the volume, and with a notice of the places to which they belong. The additions are not all of equal importance; but no one who has the first edition would like to be without them, or would willingly spare the least fragment of what Mr. Norton may write on the subjects to which they relate. We would have his latest thoughts upon them. In the "Note on Eichhorn and other German Theologians," statements which stood apart in the original edition are brought together, and connected with some additional remarks. Some brief criticisms are offered on De Wette and Strauss. The weak parts in the argument of the latter are referred to, though no minute and elaborate refutation is attempted. This Mr. Norton does not consider necessary. His estimate of both Strauss and De Wette, together with Eichhorn, may be learned from the following assertion: — "The books I have quoted will not be read after the present generation has passed away; and the opinions I have observed upon will soon cease to attract notice, except from the student of the history of theology." Besides the note already mentioned, and some others, — one on "Epiphanius's Account of the Gospel used by the Ebionites," and three on particular passages in the New Testament, — an additional chapter is given, containing "Concluding Remarks on the Direct Historical Evidence of the Genuineness of the Gospels." The historical argument is here clearly and succinctly stated, after which some modern objections are noticed, particularly those of Strauss already referred to. The denial of the possibility of miracles, with which Strauss starts, Mr. Norton ar-

gues is equivalent to the denial of a Deity, that is, in any proper sense of the term, and therefore amounts to atheism, and thus involves the destruction of all religion. "But the fact has been overlooked," he says, "that, supposing the proposition to be admitted, that a miraculous intervention of the Deity is impossible, it would have no bearing on our present subject. No inference could be drawn from it to show that the Gospels were not written by those to whom they are ascribed." This is an acute and discriminating remark, for the illustration of which we must refer the reader to the work itself.

A new edition of the second and third volumes is in press. We learn from the author that the additions made in it will probably not exceed ten or twelve pages in the two volumes, and will be printed separately, for the use of the owners of the first edition. He has not found it necessary to make any other alterations of any considerable importance. We do not see, therefore, that the value of the copies of the first edition will suffer any essential depreciation. As to the first volume, we are inclined to think that its *bibliographical* value will be enhanced, since it contains some fifty pages of matter which has not been, and probably will not be, reprinted, and all the important additions are given, as we have said, and may be procured separately. The publication of such a work, in this country, can, of course, be attended with no pecuniary benefit to the author. Its sale, however, should, in all reason, secure him against loss. We conclude with expressing our deep sense of the value of Mr. Norton's historical and critical labors, and the hope that health and strength may be granted him to complete the remaining works on which he has bestowed so much thought, and which no one is so well qualified to execute, — works impatiently expected from his pen. L.

Defence of the Hebrew Grammar of Gesenius against Professor Stuart's Translation. By the Original Translator. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54.

In a notice of Professor Stuart's Translation of Gesenius's Grammar, in our number for January last, we mentioned that we had detected in it mistakes, and evidence of great haste and carelessness. We had not a copy of the original German before us. But in this pamphlet by Professor Conant, the first translator of Gesenius's Grammar, instances of mistranslation on the part of Professor Stuart, by which the sense of the original is perverted or obscured, are adduced in such number and variety as to convince every scholar who will attend to the subject, that singular

injustice has been done by the Andover Professor both to Gesenius and to Rödiger. We feel bound, in justice, to take back even the measured commendation which, after a superficial examination, we bestowed upon his translation, when we said, in the notice above mentioned, that it was in the main a good one. We now feel bound to say, that it never ought to be used as a representation of the grammar of Gesenius. Its errors are absolutely astounding, both for their number and their character. We therefore recommend that all, who have occasion to use a Hebrew Grammar, will call for Conant's Translation of Gesenius, which, though susceptible of some improvement, is immeasurably superior to that of Mr. Stuart.

We have made the preceding remarks with unfeigned regret. We are afraid that the effect of Professor Conant's pamphlet will be to lower the public estimation of Professor Stuart's previous labors, and of his general scholarship, beyond what is just and reasonable. It should be remembered that many of the errors detected by Professor Conant were the consequence of unaccountable haste and carelessness in the translator; and that, though errors of a similar kind appear in all his writings, yet much, also, that is valuable and useful is found in them all. It is in consequence of the impulse which he has imparted to sacred, especially to Hebrew, literature in this country, that the younger race of scholars are able to detect his errors. N.

The Agamemnon of Æschylus, with English Notes. By C. C. Felton, A. M., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in the University at Cambridge. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 189.

This edition of one of the most splendid of the Greek tragedies has just been issued by Professor Felton, who designs it for a text-book in our colleges. The text, which, as is well known, has always presented peculiar difficulties to commentators, appears here in an excellent form. The purpose of the work forbade the editor's swelling its size by undue quotations or commentaries, and he has consequently been compelled to exclude some ingenious emendations of difficult passages which have been suggested but not yet fully approved. From the same cause he has been led occasionally to render very involved and obscure passages in a somewhat inelegant manner, sacrificing grace of expression to the literal fidelity which is essential in a work intended for young students. These are the chief defects of the book, if they can properly be regarded as defects; and, taking into

account the peculiar difficulties of the work and the restraints imposed upon him by his immediate object, Professor Felton's edition of this play cannot but be considered as in a high degree creditable to himself, and likely to be widely and permanently useful.

Entertaining this opinion, we have been surprised and grieved to see in so respectable a magazine as the New York Knickerbocker a notice of this work, which, to our mind, is sadly wanting in fairness and courtesy, as well as in accuracy. Besides the ungentlemanly feelings which he has displayed towards Mr. Felton personally, the writer has made what should have been a manly and dignified notice of a production claiming at least the rank of respectability a vehicle for the most unworthy local prejudices. So marked, indeed, is the tone of illiberality and flippancy which pervades the review, that we are persuaded it must furnish to every calm and considerate person the strongest internal evidence of its injustice; and we should not have felt called upon to notice it in any way, were it not that the wide circulation and honorable character of the magazine in which it appears may give it a currency to which it is not of itself entitled.

Our limits will not permit us to furnish at length all the reasons upon which we found our opinion of the article, but a careful and (so far as time has allowed) a thorough examination of every point which it contains justifies us, we think, in saying that the reviewer's charges may be divided into four classes, as follows. First, some five or six instances in which Mr. Felton's judgment or taste may be considered as questionable, or in which he is clearly liable to no heavier charge than that of inadvertence. Secondly, assertions of the reviewer of an entirely arbitrary nature, in which he settles doubtful points or corrects statements by an *ex cathedrâ* decision. Thirdly, remarks apparently pointless and unnecessary, the only object of which seems to have been, as certainly their only effect is, to swell the article to an imposing size. And, lastly, a large class of charges of inaccuracy or ignorance made by the reviewer against Mr. Felton, which prove, on examination, to be unsupported and erroneous. Of this last class, as most important to our purpose, we venture to present a few obvious specimens.

v. 231. The reviewer here, after asserting that quantity is of "very small account with the Bostonians," and accusing Professor Felton of ignorance of the quantity of the word *ἀπίος*, exhibits himself a great want of accuracy in respect to that word; for *ἄπιος* does not universally mean "the Peloponnese," but is also used (as by Soph. Œ. C. 1678) in the sense of "distant." (We know that Blomfield, Glos. Ag. 247, contends for the former meaning in that passage also; but his opinion is not generally re-

ceived.) Moreover, *ἄπλος* is used by later writers in the sense of "the Peloponnese." (*Vide* Liddell and Scott, Buttmann's Lexil.)

535 – 538. *ἀρχαῖον* both Liddell and Peile translate "ancient," as does Felton. Just so, *ἀρχαῖον ὄνειδος*, Pind. O. 6. 89.

713. *Αἶνος* occurs only three times in the Agamemnon. In two of those instances, including the present, it is translated by Wellauer "*laus.*" How far, then, it is true, that "the word is not usually employed in a good sense in this play," the reader may judge.

816. A glance at the lexicon will, we think, satisfy the reviewer that the metaphor here is *not* taken from "throwing dice," since *καταῤῥίπτειν* is never found to bear that meaning; the words so used being *ἀναῤῥίπτειν* and *βάλλειν*.

979. On this we would say that *πάρα* plainly stands for *πάρεστι*, — a fact which seems not to have occurred to the reviewer. Comp. Soph. Elect. 285, Æsch. Pers. 167, in both of which cases the word stands, as here, at the end of an iambic line.

1206. *ὑπτίασμα*. Professor Felton's rendering of this word, "prostration," is certainly a possible one, and we must be permitted to think it the best one in this place, the somewhat extraordinary quotation from Horace's Ode to Phydele to the contrary notwithstanding.

1244 – 1247. The calmness with which Klausen, Peile, Schneider, and Felton are pronounced to have mistaken the construction of this passage is really rather astonishing, and somewhat prepares us for the assertion, that *τίνειν* is said of those who *pay* the penalty, but not of these who *inflict* it. Cf., to the contrary, Æsch. Theb. 638, Soph. Œ. C. 227, Pind. P. 2. 24.

1311 – 1314. Porson's emendation of this passage, so far from being "universally" received, is rejected by Wellauer, Dindorf, and Klausen; the last of whom (pronounced by Peile the first of foreign commentators on Æschylus) reads, with Felton, *νότῳ γάνει*. We prefer Professor Felton's translation of *λοχίσμασιν* as simpler than Linwood's.

We have thus briefly noticed some of the instances in which the heavy accusations of the reviewer recoil upon himself. It is not easy for us to express the regret with which we regard all such indications of the existence of a narrow and ungenerous spirit of rivalry as that contained in the following extract.

"The inhabitants of the American Athens, setting up for universal geniuses, have, among other things, assumed to be the classical instructers of the whole American community; while it is notorious that there is not a man among them who can write three pages upon any subject involving real scholarship without exposing himself egregiously. And not only do they claim to be *the* classics of the country, but the *only* classics, affecting to despise New York scholarship, which is really very

respectable, as far as it goes, and not altogether contemned on the other side of the water; Professor Anthon's books being extensively read and republished in England and Scotland; and all this they profess to do, quite *ἐν παρέργῳ*."

It is impossible that the indulgence of such a spirit should be otherwise than injurious to the progress of learning and literature throughout our country. No abundant nor permanent results of intellectual labor can be looked for, until that honorable appreciation of the performances of all true and industrious men shall prevail, which is content and glad to recognize a real advance in the acquisition of truth in whatever quarter, and by whomsoever made. H—t.

Hymns for Christian Devotion; especially adapted to the Universalist Denomination. By J. G. Adams and E. H. Chapin. Boston: Abel Tompkins. 1847. 12mo. pp. 642.

This compilation, though prepared to aid the worship of a particular sect, is entirely free from sectarianism. The 1008 pieces of which it is composed could hardly fail of including a great deal of excellence, even if they were not selected by two clergymen who are themselves no indifferent poets. We do not know what the character of the hymn-book is of which this takes the place; but we feel sure that the present one must be a great improvement on its predecessor, however creditable that previous performance may have been. We have before us a book, preserved carefully for the sake of old remembrances, that was "designed for the use of the Church Universal"; or, in stricter truth, for the congregation worshipping "in the Meeting-House, corner of Bennet Street, in *Middle Street*, Boston," which took the title of "the Universal Church." It was published in 1802, and could not possibly have been an improvement upon any thing. It is exclusively doctrinal, presenting everywhere the idea of a bloody atonement in its most offensive form; and this fault is fully matched by the extreme badness of the verses. Some faint idea of this latter quality may be gathered from a quotation or two, such as might be multiplied to any extent.

"Long he struggled with confused
— Noise, and garments roll'd in blood;
Till destroying sin, and hell, and
Death, he rescu'd man to God."

"The victory 's won, And Satan is down;
We now overcome, His kingdom disown;
The seed of the woman Hath bruised his head,
Hath made us that new man, Which love had decreed."

"Comfort ye my, comfort ye my
— People, saith your God."

It is truly comforting to observe the advancement that less than half a century has produced, both in religious views and poetical taste. The present work we think calculated to find much favor among persons of cultivated minds, in other denominations than that to which the compilers belong. We do not think, however, that it can be considered as an improvement upon all other similar books "already in existence." The Preface implies such an ambition in the attempt, but the claim would be far too high. It contains many admirable hymns, both old and new. But we cannot help finding some fault with it, for a reason that will be its highest recommendation to many persons. Its whole style is too modern. There is too large a proportion of the verses of the day. We are allowed too little of the simplicity, sweetness, and force of the old masters. If we might speak our mind freely, we should say that there was too much sentimentalism in it, too much dallying with the smaller beauties of poetry. Several of the pieces remind us of certain gentlemen, who are called "exquisites" on account of their over-nice manners or over-showy dress. Take, for an example, the 961st or the 586th. We hold that the ornaments of sacred poetry should be peculiar and appropriate to that class of compositions. Its imagery should resemble that of the Scriptures, and not that — however charming in its place — of Thomas Moore. All mere prettinesses should be carefully excluded. We have observed in this collection an unusually large number of what may be called "burden-hymns," where the last line of every verse is in the same words, or nearly the same, or where the first line in each is repeated in like manner. We counted about thirty of these. Though some of them are undoubtedly beautiful, we do not think that this style is most to be approved. On the other hand, we think our friends must have been nodding a little when such platitudes as the 437th found the honor of their "admittatur." We confess that we could well dispense with a considerable number of the pieces that have multiplied here to such an amount. But these can easily be omitted in the reading by those who like them no better than we do. And there will still be left a collection of hymns suitable to be sung by any worshipping assembly whatever; — chaste, fervid, elevating; worthy expressions of the truest and devoutest thoughts. F.

The Explanatory Bible Atlas and Scripture Gazetteer, Geographical, Topographical, and Historical; containing Maps of all the Countries and Places mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, drawn from the latest and best Authorities, and engraved expressly for the Work, with Illustrative Essays

for each Map, and accurate local Descriptions in the Gazetteer; a colored Missionary Map of the World; a Dictionary of the Natural History of the Bible, with Engravings; Tables of Time, Weights, Measures, and Coins, Tabular Views, etc. By the Rev. William Jenks, D. D., Editor of the Comprehensive Commentary on the Bible, etc. For the Use of Families, Clergymen, Teachers of Bible Classes, of Sabbath and other Schools, Theological Students, and Biblical Readers generally. Boston: C. Hickling. 1847. 4to. pp. 157.

We have given this formidable title at length, though we are not quite sure that it will not awaken in the reader expectations which the work itself will fail of completely fulfilling. Yet the volume contains a great deal of information in a condensed form, and drawn from authentic sources, on subjects interesting as well to the general reader as to the Biblical student and teachers of Sunday schools and Bible classes, — information which, as the compiler observes, has been hitherto "scattered through many expensive volumes," some of which are "found only in costly libraries." From these the author, who is one of the most indefatigable of students, has extensively and faithfully gleaned. Of course the work cannot be expected to prove a very attractive one; it is a work to be consulted rather than read, but, properly used, will be found exceedingly useful. It is one the need of which has been often felt, and the merits of which, as they become known, the public will duly appreciate. The volume contains seventeen maps, which, as we are informed, were "drawn expressly for it from the latest and best authorities"; they are distinct, well engraved, and present a beautiful appearance to the eye. There are also engravings of the principal plants and animals mentioned in Scripture, accompanied with an explanatory index. The Gazetteer adds to the value of the work, though it should have been so prepared as to have precluded the necessity of the "Addenda." We should have preferred, too, to have seen the long quotations frequently given in the literary portion of the volume credited to the authors. Still, we think well of the work as it is, and, notwithstanding some minute blemishes which the critical eye may detect in it, we heartily commend it to the attention of the public. L.

The History of Sunday Schools, and of Religious Education, from the Earliest Times. By Lewis G. Pray. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 12mo. pp. 262.

This is an attempt to supply a manifest deficiency in our re-

ligious literature. The author's desire to avoid making a large book has doubtless led him to study brevity on some points, in regard to which a fuller discussion would have been more satisfactory. There is hardly a chapter that would not offer to a practised author a temptation to book-making. We think Mr. Pray deserves credit, not only for adhering closely to his subject, but also for bringing so many important facts and profitable suggestions within so brief a space. We cordially commend the book to teachers and superintendents, and to all persons interested in the Christian culture of the young. The last chapter especially, on the arrangement and instruction of a Sunday school, deserves and will well repay an attentive study. It exhibits the result of long and successful experience in Sunday-school teaching, the ripened fruit of more than twenty years' faithful labor. It is distinguished by great sobriety; Mr. Pray's feelings do not mislead his judgment. He takes a practical view of his subject. His expectations are chastened by extensive and intimate knowledge of the difficulties that beset the path of even the most earnest and diligent laborer. Hence his book may be used profitably. Its principles and methods are immediately applicable to the existing conditions of Sunday schools, and are calculated to elevate and improve it. Nor need we add, for the information of those acquainted with the author, that his work is characterized by a devout spirit, and by an earnest solicitude for the moral and religious prosperity of the rising generation.

M.

Progressive Lessons for Sunday Schools. Printed for the Use of the Sunday School of the Unitarian Society, Buffalo, New York. Buffalo: O. G. Steele. 1847. pp. 48. 18mo.

This little book contains five different parts, from the very juvenile exercises of the Portsmouth "First Book for Sunday Schools," up to doctrinal questions, with Scripture references, upon God, Christ, regeneration, judgment, etc. Each part closes with an appropriate selection of hymns, and, all together, costs no more than a common catechism alone. The second part consists of the catechism prepared by Dr. Channing and Mr. Thacher; the third part contains brief questions upon Christianity; the fourth part is made up of studies in Old Testament history; and the closing portion gives sixteen doctrinal subjects to be inquired into in designated passages of the Bible. For those who are conducting small Sunday schools, at a distance from Boston, this too-concise manual might be made to take the place of numerous expensive works. An intelligent teacher would be more encouraged to a free interchange of thought with the pupil

by this, than by almost any other text-book, while the more advanced portions would perhaps stimulate a teacher accustomed to a servile dependence on printed questions and answers to a more hearty, living, and profitable communion on such kindling themes. H—d.

The Words of Christ, from the New Testament. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 16mo. pp. 150.

In this little book an attempt is made to present to the reader, under eight general heads, — viz. "The Messiah," "The Teacher," "The Comforter," "The Sufferer," "The Betrayed," "The Crucified," "The Risen," and "The Redeemer," — all our Saviour's recorded sayings, separate from the accounts that the Evangelists have given of the incidents and circumstances in the midst of which he uttered them. Whatever may be thought of the compiler's method of arrangement, — which to us seems somewhat arbitrary and imperfect, — he has certainly, in the execution of his plan, given proof of skill and fidelity; and though for ourselves we must confess that our Lord's teachings always impress us most deeply when we study them in their original historical connections, yet we doubt not that many will find this volume a very useful manual. B.

Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism. By John Wilson. Published by the Unitarian Association of the State of New York. 1847. 12mo. pp. 183.

We are pleased to see this reprint of the first part of Mr. Wilson's "Scripture Proofs and Scriptural Illustrations of Unitarianism," by the Unitarian Association of the State of New York. "The present volume," it is stated in the Preface to the American edition, "is an experiment upon the interest of the public mind in the subject. It will speedily be followed by others, if it shall obtain a general or considerable circulation." The project is a good one, and we hope it will succeed. There is much need of a more extensive circulation of works of this kind among us, more especially as what is called doctrinal preaching has of late years become rather unfashionable in the Unitarian churches.

We hope the perusal of this "tractate" will induce many persons to purchase the whole volume of which, in the English edition, it forms a part, and copies of which are for sale in this country. L.

The Library of American Biography. Conducted by JARED SPARKS. Second Series, Vol. XIII. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 16mo. pp. 434.

THIS volume contains two lives. The first is that of the celebrated Daniel Boone, the "Pioneer of Kentucky," who has been made a sort of hero of romance, and about whom many fabulous anecdotes have obtained currency. The present life, by John M. Peck, we have reason to believe authentic, and we commend it to the attention of those who may wish to know who the real Daniel Boone was, how he lived, and what he performed. The other life is that of Benjamin Lincoln, major-general in the army of the Revolution, by Francis Bowen, who is accustomed to do well whatever he does, and who in the present case has, without overlooking other sources of information, drawn his materials principally from the letters and private papers of General Lincoln himself, which, he informs us, "have been preserved in a state of great completeness, and which throw much light on some of the most interesting passages in the history of the American Revolution." Little use has heretofore been made of these documents. L.

Morning and Evening Meditations, for every Day in a Month. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1847. 16mo. pp. 294.

WE noticed the original English edition of this work in our number for November, 1845, and then expressed a hope that it would be republished in this country. We now notice its appearance from an American press, merely to call the attention of our readers to a book which they will find profitable in quickening or enriching their religious sentiments. G.

A System of Moral Philosophy, adapted to Children and Families, and especially to Common Schools. By REV. D. STEELE and A FRIEND. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 80.

WITHOUT stopping to comment on the title of this publication, which is a little too high-sounding to please our taste, we very cheerfully recommend it as containing many just views of the moral laws of our being, well illustrated, and expressed in language adapted to the capacity of children, without being childish.

L.

A Sermon of the Dangerous Classes in Society, preached at the Melodeon, on Sunday, January 31. By THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the XXVIII. Congregational Church in Boston. Boston: C. & J. M. Spear. 1847. 8vo. pp. 48.

Services at the Ordination of Rev. O. B. Frothingham, March, 10, 1847. Salem. 1847. 8vo. pp. 30.

Brookline Jubilee. A Discourse delivered in Brookline, at the Request of its Inhabitants, on 15 *March*, 1847, *the Day which completed Half a Century from his Ordination.* By JOHN PIERCE, D. D., Fifth Minister of the First Congregational Church and Society in said Town. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 72.

The Triumphs of War. A Sermon preached on the Day of the Annual Fast, April 15, 1847. By ANDREW P. PEABODY, Pastor of the South Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Portsmouth: J. W. Foster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

True Patriotism. A Discourse delivered on Fast Day, in the Second Universalist Church, School Street. By E. H. CHAPIN. Boston: A. Hawkins. 1847. 8vo. pp. 19.

The Claims of Congregational Churches. A Centennial Address; being a Plea in Vindication of the Rights of the First Church in Pepperell, Mass., delivered February 9, 1847. By CHARLES BABBIDGE, Minister of the First Parish. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 44.

White Slavery in the Barbary States. A Lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, February 17, 1847. By CHARLES SUMNER. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 8vo. pp. 60.

Letter of Joseph Richardson, Pastor of the First Church in Hingham, to his Parish, on the Subject of Exchanges of Pulpit Services with the Ministers of the other Religious Societies in said Town; the Reports of a Committee, and the Record of the Votes of the First Parish thereon; and a Correspondence with four of the other Religious Societies in said Town. Hingham. 1847. 8vo. pp. 44.

Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England, during the Century between 1740 *and* 1840. Boston: James B. Dow. 1847. 12mo. pp. 126.

An Inquiry into the Original Import and Scripture Use of the Terms Sheol, Hades, Tartaros, and Gehenna; addressed to Elder David Millard, Professor of Biblical Antiquity, etc., in the Theological School of Meadville, Pa. By ISAAC C. GOFF, Minister of the N. T. Honesdale, Pa. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

God OR *Our Country. Review of Rev. Dr. Putnam's Discourse, delivered on Fast Day, entitled, God* AND *Our Country.* Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 23.

Resistance to Slavery every Man's Duty. A Report on American Slavery, read to the Worcester Central Association, March 2, 1847. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.

WHETHER or not some of Mr. Parker's views are a little Utopian, is a question on which different judgments will be pronounced; persons who have less hopefulness in their natures than he apparently possesses may, on reading his discourse, sometimes hesitate and doubt; but there is a Christian and humane spirit running through it with which no one who has right feelings can fail deeply to sympathize. — The services at the ordination of Mr. Frothingham, including the sermon by his father, the right hand of fellowship by Mr. Stone, and the charge by Dr. Putnam, are such as might be expected from their authors. After referring to the difficulties which attend the "office of religious teaching" at the present day, Dr. Frothingham proceeds to speak of what is comprehended in "rightly dividing the word of truth" (the language of his text) according to its nature and the capacity and wants of hearers, and concludes with affectionate allusions to the occasion and the place. — The discourse and addresses delivered at the "Brookline Jubilee" — the latter being given in an appendix — contain much matter of local interest, — reminiscences, facts, dates, — and, what we regard of more value, are memorials of an occasion which presented a beautiful picture of the moral and social influences exerted by a Christian minister who, after the fashion of other days, has remained united with the same people, —

"Nor e'er has changed, nor wished to change his place."

— The rejoicings for our victories in Mexico Mr. Peabody condemns as inconsistent with the principles of a merciful and humane religion; our bells, he thinks, should have tolled, in token of grief, rather than have sent forth the merry peal of triumph; and our "praise" have lost itself in "penitential sorrow" for the savage deeds of war. His sermon is the fresh outpouring of a fervid spirit deeply moved by the tidings, which had just arrived, of the bombardment and capture of Vera Cruz. — Mr. Chapin does not engage in a violent tirade against the present war and its supporters, but calmly, yet with an unflinching independence, examines some of the motives which led to it, and the excuses which are made for prosecuting it, strongly condemning them, and urging the great moral and Christian principles on

which the true patriot should take his stand. The discourse is alike creditable to his ability and manliness. — We do not think that Mr. Babbidge's Address can be justly charged with being, as he apprehends it may seem, either "ill-natured" or "severe." The attempt to rob his church of its rightful name was an offence which, with similar offences in other cases, would be provoking, were it not for their utter futility aud absurdity. The Address is an able and thorough vindication of the claims of his church.

Mr. Sumner 's Lecture is mostly historical. The origin of slavery is briefly touched upon, as also its character in the Barbary States; but the great merit of the performance consists in the information it contains, collected from various sources, relating to the number of slaves in those States at different periods, the efforts made for their redemption, by peaceful or warlike measures, and the general policy pursued by the European powers, resulting in the final extinction of Christian slavery in Morocco, Tripoli, Tunis, and, lastly, in Algiers. The pamphlet is not one of mere temporary interest, but deserves to be preserved as an historical document. — The proposition contained in Mr. Richardson's letter was a free exchange of pulpit services with the ministers of the other religious societies in the town, — that is, two Unitarian, one Methodist, one Baptist, and one Universalist. His parish assent, and communications are made to the other societies, of which two — that of the second parish, and the Universalist — accept the offer, while the third Congregational Society (that of the Rev. Mr. Stearns) declines, as also the pastor of the Baptist, his people sustaining him in the decision. — The pamphlet entitled "Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England," while it gives evidence of some diligence in collecting facts and dates, and contains a show of impartiality, perpetually violates moral truth, and does about the same justice to Unitarianism which the "pages" of Gibbon do to Christianity. — Such pamphlets as that of Mr. Goff, though laying no claim to great learning, cannot fail of scattering abroad some seeds of truth, and we are not the less pleased with them on account of the quarters from which we occasionally receive them. — The reviewer of Dr. Putnam's fast-day sermon not only dissents from much of the language of the discourse, but on portions of it makes some very severe, and, as we think, unwarrantable criticisms. — The "Report on American Slavery," etc., is valuable chiefly, not for any new light it throws on the subject, any new facts it arrays, or arguments it embodies, but as an earnest protest of a respectable body of men against an institution involving moral wrong and fraught with incalculable misery.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The resignation of their pulpits by two of the ministers of this city has brought forcibly to our notice a change now going on, which may affect the stability of several of our congregations. With the increasing business of the city, and the growth of the surrounding towns, families are removing from Boston and seeking permanent residences in the country. The demand for buildings devoted to the purposes of trade, and the facility of communication between the city and the country by means of railroads, are thinning the town of its old inhabitants, and lead us to anticipate the time as not very distant when most of those who transact their business here will reside in the neighbouring places. Already the effect on our churches is very perceptible. We were told by a friend the other day, that six families of his congregation had gone into the country this spring, to remain permanently; and another of our societies, we know, has lost fourteen families in the same way within a year. The removal of other persons from the country into the city, it may be thought, will more than supply the deficiency. But such is not the fact, as we learn; at least, it is not so in the Unitarian congregations. Most of those who come into Boston come from places where Trinitarianism is the prevalent or the only form of religious belief, and they bring the opinions, if not the prejudices, in which they have been educated with them, and connect themselves with churches maintaining similar opinions here. The consequence is, not only that our congregations are changeable to an extent that would probably surprise those who are not familiar with the recent history of Boston, but that they suffer, and under present circumstances must continue to suffer, a gradual diminution. The persons to whom we referred as having given notice of an intention to close their ministries here are Rev. Mr. Smith of the New North church, and Rev. Mr. Towne of the Leyden (or Green Street) church; and both offer the same reason for this step, namely, the decrease of ability in their congregations in consequence of the removal of families from Boston. Rev. Mr. Smith's resignation, should it be accepted by his people, will take effect the next spring. — Rev. Mr. Bellows of Framingham has resigned his connection with the church in that place. — Rev. Mr. Tilden has closed his ministry at Concord, N. H. — Rev. Mr. Clapp of New Orleans, we learn from the public journals, has left his society on account of his health, and proposes to visit Europe. — Rev. Mr. Hedge of Bangor has obtained leave of absence from his congregation for a year or more, which he will spend abroad, being now on his way to Europe. — Rev. Mr. Adam, who was at Toronto, is now permanently fixed at Chicago, Ill. — Rev. Mr. May, formerly of Leicester, has accepted the appointment of General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society, and has entered on the duties of his office. — Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline having finished a ministry of fifty years, his people have decided to hear candidates, with a view to the settlement of a colleague.

New York Unitarian Association. — The annual meeting of the New York Unitarian Association was held on Wednesday evening, May 12, 1847. The churches at Buffalo, Trenton, Troy, Brooklyn, and New York were represented by their pastors. The annual sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hosmer of Buffalo. A business meeting was held on Thursday afternoon at the rooms of the Association. According to the constitution, the annual meeting to hear the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer occurs in January, and the meeting during the New York anniversary week is in truth only a social and religious celebration, into which a certain amount of the business of the Association creeps. The question was discussed, whether it would not be better to unite these occasions and have only one public meeting of the Association, in the month of October. The subject was referred to the Directors. A larger, more spirited and useful meeting would doubtless follow upon the proposed change. The objects which the Association proposed to itself for the coming year were, — 1. The wider circulation of its newspaper, by a reduction of the subscription price to one dollar; 2. The support of a missionary (Rev. Mr. Ferris, who is already engaged on a permanent salary); and, 3. Some assistance to the Albany society, at present the only feeble church within the boundaries of the Association. It was resolved to raise the sum of $2500 for the support of the Association for the ensuing year.

At the adjourned meeting, held in the church of the Divine Unity on Thursday evening, various resolutions were offered, the most important of which referred to the Unitarian reform, as being the radical reform of our times and deserving preëminent attention and furtherance, — the encouragements afforded in the present aspects of religious opinions and organizations to more vigorous efforts among the friends of Liberal Christianity, — the duty of New York Unitarians, growing out of their central position, — the desirableness of a more intimate understanding and coöperation among the churches throughout the State, — the importance of sustaining the Christian Inquirer, and of reducing its cost to the lowest sum possible, — and the duty of giving a hearty sympathy and generous support to the Meadville Theological School. The Rev. Messrs. Pierpont of Troy, Buckingham of Trenton, Hosmer of Buffalo, De Lange, lately from the Meadville School, Judge Greenwood of Brooklyn, and Rev. Mr. May of Massachusetts, spoke to these and other resolutions. The meeting was felt to be too general in the topics discussed to be entirely satisfactory. It would have been an excellent meeting, if no other purpose had been proposed than Christian improvement; but as the annual meeting of the New York Unitarian Association, it was a failure. Fortunately, the business meeting was conducted with strict regard to practical measures, and will be followed, we trust, with palpable and worthy results. B.

The Anniversaries. — The anniversaries of the various religious associations celebrated in Boston the present year, at the close of May, were fully attended, and were conducted in a manner altogether serious and pleasant, although not with as much spirit as we have sometimes known. There was little brilliant speaking, but some valuable discussion; and in the proceedings of the different denominations an unusual tone of candor and courtesy appears to have prevailed. The most important of

the meetings in our own denomination was that of the American Unitarian Association, at which an Act of incorporation was accepted, and a new organization adopted. The best of the public meetings, we suppose, was that held by the Sunday School Society, at which an excellent report was read and one or two addresses of unusual merit were made. The most *noticeable* meetings of the week were the continued sessions of the "League of Universal Brotherhood," and of the New England Antislavery Convention. The former is a new organization, intended to embrace Europe as well as America, and is founded on a "Pledge," to which thousands of names have already been obtained in Great Britain and this country, binding the subscribers to "employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war," and "for the abolition of all institutions and customs" unfriendly to the widest offices of humanity. The discussions, which were prolonged through three successive days, on the meaning of this pledge and the topics which it suggests, were marked by unusual fairness and ability; but the number of hearers was less than we had hoped to find. The meetings of the Antislavery Convention were distinguished by the extreme character of the resolutions, the violence of the declamation, and the general disorder of the assembly. Such full reports have been given of all the anniversaries in our other religious journals, that we do not deem it necessary to present more than a very brief record of the proceedings in which our readers may be supposed to take most interest. One series of meetings which began in the course of the anniversary week was continued by repeated adjournments to the end of the next month. A difference of opinion having arisen among the members of the "Prison Discipline Society," in regard to the censures which have of late years been bestowed in its Reports upon the Philadelphia system of "separate imprisonment," the subject was brought before the annual meeting of the Society two years ago, but has remained without a decision till this time, when it was revived through the report of a committee previously appointed. A very thorough discussion has been the consequence, pursued through several evenings, and conducted with great ability. The Tremont Temple, capable of holding some thousand persons, has been nearly filled on each evening, and an interest been awakened on the subject, as well as information spread before the public, which cannot but promote the great purpose of the Society, the amelioration of our penitentiary systems. The discussions were closed, however, by a vote to lay the whole matter on the table.

First in order of time among the meetings which we propose to notice was that called by the *Book and Pamphlet Society*, not for business, but to hear a discourse from Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York; who preached an excellent sermon in the Federal Street meetinghouse on Sunday evening, May 23, from Colossians iv. 16, on the use which may be made of the press in diffusing Christian truth and the influence which Christianity should exert upon literature. At the annual meeting of the Society, held April 26, Mr. Lewis G. Pray was chosen *President*, John G. Rogers, Esq., declining a reëlection; Mr. Francis Alger, *Vice-President;* Mr. S. G. Simpkins, *Treasurer;* and Messrs. Francis Bowen, Charles Faulkner, and Dummer R. Chapman, *Executive Committee.*

The *Society for the Promotion of Theological Education*, and the *Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity*, held

their annual meetings on Monday, May 24, for the choice of officers, but had little other business to transact. The *Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society* elected its officers, — Hon. Lemuel Shaw, *President*, in the place of Hon. Peter C. Brooks, who declined a reëlection, — and transacted its usual financial business. The *Massachusetts Bible Society* celebrated its thirty-eighth anniversary in the Winter Street church, on Monday afternoon. After some remarks by Rev. Dr. Pierce, President of the Society, and the reading of the Report by Rev. Dr. Parkman, the Corresponding Secretary, addresses were made by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I., Rev. Dr. Carruthers of Portland, Me., and Professor Greenleaf of Harvard University. The *American Peace Society* celebrated its nineteenth anniversary in the same church on Monday evening. After remarks by Samuel Greele, Esq., who presided, the Annual Report was read by the Secretary, Rev. Mr. Beckwith, and addresses were delivered by Rev. Mr. Clark of Portsmouth, N. H., Rev. Dr. Baird of New York, Rev. Mr. Kirk of Boston, and Amasa Walker, Esq., of Brookfield. The *Boston Port Society* held a public meeting the same evening in the Federal Street meetinghouse. The Annual Report was read by the Secretary, John A. Andrew, Esq., and addresses were made by Hon. Albert Fearing, President of the Society, Captain Girdler, Thomas B. Curtis, Esq., Robert B. Forbes, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Taylor, all of Boston.

American Unitarian Association. — The American Unitarian Association celebrated its twenty-second anniversary on Tuesday, May 25, Hon. Richard Sullivan, one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair. At the last session of the Massachusetts Legislature an Act of incorporation had been obtained, and the first question before the Association related to the acceptance of this Act; but as it appeared that a sufficient length of time had not elapsed since the publication of the notice of the meeting to render its proceedings legal, the morning was spent in considering what measures should be recommended to the Association at its legal meeting the next week. At the adjourned meeting in the evening the Treasurer's annual report was accepted, from which it appeared that the actual receipts of the last year had been $9,057.68, and the expenditures $11,120.96, leaving a balance against the treasury of $2,063.28. The public meeting of the Association was held on Tuesday evening, in the Federal Street meetinghouse, which was crowded. The Annual Report having been read by the Secretary, Rev. Mr. Briggs, a series of resolutions were offered by Rev. Mr. Huntington, in the name of the Executive Committee, relating to the interest which the Unitarian body should take in "the humane enterprises of the present day," — the efficacy of Christian faith in saving the republic from "false tendencies," — the importance of a wider "distribution of the printed works of Unitarian writers," — the propriety of a closer union among "Liberal Christians" throughout the country and the world, — the need of "more strenuous endeavours to increase the funds" of the Association, — and the "adaptation of the Unitarian faith" to form and control the individual life. Addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., Rev. Mr. Furness of Philadelphia, Penn., Rev. Mr. Frost of Concord, Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, Rev. Mr. Bulfinch of Nashua, N. H.,

and Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence, R. I. The Report was accepted, the resolutions were adopted, and the exercises of the evening closed with the doxology.

The business meeting on Tuesday evening having been adjourned to Wednesday afternoon, the discussions were resumed, Hon. Stephen Fairbanks in the chair. It was voted to recommend to the members of the Association at the subsequent legal meeting to accept the Act of incorporation and to adopt a code of by-laws which had been prepared by the Executive Committee. Rev. Mr. May of Leicester offered certain resolutions on the subject of Slavery, which gave rise to a debate, the conclusion of which was deferred till Thursday morning. On Thursday Mr. May's resolutions were further considered, a large number of the members taking part in the debate. The first of the resolutions, expressing the most decided condemnation of "slaveholding," was passed. A list of officers was adopted, to be recommended for election at the legal meeting. A resolution was also passed, recommending that the salary of the Secretary should be two thousand dollars. Some subjects were referred to the Executive Committee for consideration, and the Association adjourned *sine die.*

A meeting having been called according to the requisitions of law, the Association on the 3d of June, 1847, accepted the Act of incorporation, and adopted the code of by-laws which had been already considered. These by-laws are in effect a new constitution, but they propose no important change except an arrangement of the offices, to be filled by annual election, which will give at once more simplicity and more efficiency to the operations of the Association. Provision is made for the choice of two Vice-Presidents, instead of the much larger number required under the old constitution, the "Council" is abolished, and all the officers are made members of the Executive Committee, and are expected to be working men. The officers of the Association for the ensuing year were then chosen, viz. Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, *President*, Rev. Dr. Dewey having by letter declined a reëlection; Hon. Stephen Fairbanks and Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop, *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. William G. Eliot, *Secretary;* Mr. Henry P. Fairbanks, *Treasurer;* Rev. Ephraim Peabody, Rev. Frederick D. Huntington, Rev. James W. Thompson, Mr. Isaiah Bangs, Mr. Lewis G. Pray, *Directors.* Thanks were presented to Rev. Charles Briggs for his services as Secretary the last twelve years, and he was appointed *Secretary pro tem.*, in the absence of Mr. Eliot. The salary of the Secretary was fixed at $2000; nearly one half of which is the income of a fund raised expressly for the purpose. Some propositions were then submitted, with a view to their being presented in due order of business next year, and the meeting was dissolved.

Unitarian Collation. — The festival which the Unitarian laymen of Boston have for the last seven years provided for the clergy of their denomination recurred on Tuesday, May 25th. The hall over the *dépôt* of the Maine railroad, which was used the last year, was again chosen, as being the only room large enough for the purpose; but a second trial, we think, has shown that its size renders it an unsuitable place. It is too large to permit the voice of the speakers generally to reach the audience; and we believe that all would rather submit to the inconven-

ience of a crowded apartment than endure the disappointment of attempting in vain to hear the addresses which constitute a principal part of the attraction. The committee of arrangements had adopted every possible means of remedying this evil, and we are forced to believe that the interest now felt in the occasion will decline if a smaller hall is not chosen in future years. Some persons may in consequence lose the pleasure of attendance, but those who shall be present will carry away a much livelier sense of enjoyment. The number of persons, of both sexes, who partook of the collation was about the same as last year, or somewhat exceeded one thousand. George S. Hillard, Esq., of Boston, presided. The Divine blessing was asked by Rev. Mr. Gray, and thanks were returned by Rev. Mr. Coolidge, of Boston. After singing an original hymn, the President of the day made an address, in which he dwelt especially on the relations that exist between the clergy and the laity, but alluded also to other topics suggested by the occasion. After the singing of another original hymn, Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline related a pleasant anecdote. Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston then read a letter that had been received from Rev. Dr. Montgomery, of Ireland, in reply to an invitation to attend this and the other anniversary meetings, in which he expressed the most cordial feelings, but declined the invitation for reasons which prevented his or his brethren's leaving home at this time. A similar letter of invitation, signed by individuals in Boston, it appeared, had been sent to England, but no reply had been received. Brief addresses then followed, in quick succession, from Rev. Mr. Sanger of Dover, Rev. Mr. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., Rev. Mr. Fisher of Boston, Robert B. Forbes, Esq., of Boston (who was called up by some remarks of the President on the recent voyage of the Jamestown, of which Mr. Forbes had the command), Rev. Mr. Cordner of Montreal, C. W., Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, Rev. Mr. Waterston, and Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Boston. Another original hymn was sung, and the company dispersed.

Ministerial Conference. — The Unitarian clergy assembled in Conference on Wednesday morning, May 26, at the chapel of "the Church of the Saviour." After prayer by Rev. Mr. Moore of Duxbury, the Annual Address was delivered by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston, on the "Relation of Liberal Christianity to this Age and this Country." Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston was chosen *Moderator*, Rev. Mr. Huntington of Boston, *Scribe*, and Rev. Messrs. Ellis of Charlestown, Clarke of Boston, and Briggs of Plymouth, *Standing Committee*. The Committee of the last year reported a resolution, that the name of the body be changed from the "Berry Street Conference" to the "Ministerial Conference"; which was adopted. The Committee also presented several subjects for discussion. Resolutions of different kinds were offered by members of the Conference, which gave rise to a somewhat desultory debate, that was closed by adopting a resolution presented by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, in these words: — "That this is not an ecclesiastical association for the passing of resolutions, but a ministerial conference for the discussion of subjects." One of the questions offered by the Committee was then taken up, — respecting the relation which exists between social reform and individual regeneration, — and called forth some remarks; after which a question relating to church-member-

ship and the Lord's Supper was brought forward by one of the brethren, and discussed till the usual hour of adjournment, when the Conference was adjourned to the next year.

Sunday School Society.—This association celebrated its nineteenth anniversary in the Federal Street meetinghouse, on Wednesday evening, May 26, Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, the President, in the chair. The Annual Report was presented by Rev. Charles Brooks, the Corresponding Secretary, and was heard with general approbation of the frank and thorough manner in which the defects in our present system of Sunday school instruction were treated. Several questions, relating to the proper methods of instruction and the interest which should be felt in Sunday schools, were then offered as topics for discussion, and addresses were made by B. T. Congdon, Esq., of New Bedford, Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston, Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me., Mr. T. S. Harlow of Medford, and Rev. Mr. Willis of Walpole, N. H. The President in some closing remarks reviewed the positions taken by the different speakers; after which the Report was accepted. Hymns were sung in the course of the evening by a select choir of children, and added much to the interest of the occasion.

Convention of Congregational Ministers. — The Convention assembled on Wednesday afternoon, May 26, Rev. Mr. Cooke, Moderator. Rev. Mr. Adams of Boston was reëlected Scribe, and Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, Treasurer. The usual financial business was transacted, principally by accepting reports of committees. Rev. Dr. Ide of Medway was chosen Second Preacher for the next year. A communication was received from the "Pastoral Association," desiring the appointment of a committee, to consist of six "Orthodox" and six Unitarian ministers, to consider and report upon the relations and rights of the two denominations in the Convention and in the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society. The proposition was accepted with very little debate, and such a committee was appointed by nomination from the chair, consisting of Rev. Messrs. Storrs of Braintree, Holmes of New Bedford, Aiken and Adams of Boston, Albro of Cambridge, and Harding of Medway, from one denomination, and Rev. Messrs. Frothingham, Young, Gannett, Lothrop, and Robbins of Boston, and Ellis of Charlestown, from the other. The annual Convention Sermon was preached in the Brattle Street church on Thursday by Rev. Parsons Cooke of Lynn, on the union of believers with Christ, from 1 Corinthians xv. 45. At the usual Convention dinner, which was provided at the Revere House, a pleasant improvement upon the custom of other years was introduced by the delivery of spontaneous remarks from some of the company.

Other Meetings of the Week.— Meetings for *prayer and conference* held on Tuesday morning in the Bedford Street chapel, and on Wednesday and Thursday mornings in the vestry of the Bulfinch Street church. They were numerously attended by persons of both sexes, and many excellent addresses were made by both ministers and laymen. The sing-

ing was particularly agreeable, as it came from the whole body of worshippers, in free and harmonious strains, interrupting the continuity of individual addresses. The only complaint we were disposed to make arose from the comparative infrequency of the devotional services. It seems to us a great mistake, — the neglect of a blessed privilege and the loss of an important benefit, — to fill the time of our conference meetings with speeches or exhortations, however good, to the diminution of those exercises of humble, fervent prayer which are more suited to produce spiritual impression. Let us have less of man's counsel or man's experience, that we may enjoy more communion with God. We have noticed a tendency for some time to convert our conference meetings (of course unintentionally) into occasions for religious speaking, with an opening, and perhaps a closing, prayer, — very much like our other religious celebrations. Spontaneous remark is not the only characteristic of a true conference meeting; the souls of the people should be lifted up to Heaven by frequent offices of praise and supplication. These meetings have become among the most pleasant and useful of the anniversary week, and we wish them to retain every feature of excellence.

The *Communion service* was celebrated on Thursday evening, May 27, in the Federal Street meetinghouse. A sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, from Acts i. 14, on the thoughts appropriate to the hour; and the elements were administered by Rev. Messrs. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y., and Thompson of Salem. The number of communicants who participated exceeded what we have seen on any previous occasion, the seats on the floor of the house being insufficient for their accommodation. The service and the spectacle were suited to awaken emotions of grateful joy in every Christian heart.

The *Evangelical Missionary Society* held its annual meeting on Thursday morning. The officers for the ensuing year were elected, and the usual business transacted. Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston was appointed to preach a sermon on the next anniversary. A resolution was passed, expressing the sense entertained by the Society for the services and personal excellence of the late Rev. Mr. Rogers of Bernardston.

The *Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America*, which was incorporated sixty years ago, held its annual meeting on Thursday afternoon. The Select Committee made their semiannual report, the officers for the year were chosen, and other necessary business transacted. Hon. Stephen Fairbanks of Boston, and Rev. Dr. Lamson of Dedham, were chosen members of the Society. The funds of this Society, notwithstanding full appropriations to its proper objects, have, by careful management, been of late years constantly accumulating.

The *Boston Society for aiding Discharged Convicts*, an association of recent origin, but one that promises to do much good in a field of benevolent effort which has been almost wholly neglected, held its first anniversary meeting on Sunday evening, May 23. The annual report was read, addresses were made, and the officers for the year were elected, viz. Walter Channing, M. D., *President;* S. G. Howe, M. D., *Vice-President;* Mr. J. W. Browne, *Secretary;* J. A. Andrew, Esq., *Treasurer;* Messrs. R. F. Walcutt, C. K. Whipple, H. I. Bowditch, *Counsellors;* Mr. A. C. Taft, *General Agent.*

We might speak of the American Temperance Union, the Massa-

chusetts Colonization Society, and meetings numberless of other denominations, and of no denomination, of Christians; but where should we stop! We have gone as far in our account of the week as our readers may feel any special desire to follow us.

Installation. — Rev. William Gustavus Babcock, late of Providence, R. I., was installed as Pastor of the First Church and Society in Lunenburg, Mass., May 19, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston, from John xviii. 38; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Dr. Frothingham of Boston; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. Osgood of Cohasset; the Address to the People by Rev. Mr. Smith of Groton; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Withington of Leominster, Chandler of Shirley, and Babbidge of Pepperell.

OBITUARY.

Rev. William Mason died at Bangor, Me., March 24, 1847, aged 82 years.

Mr. Mason was born at Princeton, Mass., and was graduated at Harvard College in 1792. In 1798 he was ordained as pastor of the Congregational church in Castine, Me., of which place he was the first, and for many years the only minister. In 1834 he resigned his ministry and removed to Bangor, where he resided till his death. Mr. Mason was more remarkable for soundness than for brilliancy of mind, — a man of clear and independent judgment. He was one of the first clergymen in that part of the State to bear the reproach of Unitarian opinions, — a reproach which did not disturb his equanimity, nor weaken his kindness and charity for those who bestowed it. He was distinguished by sincerity and openness of character, gentleness of disposition, and uniform cheerfulness. His eminently social qualities have left a vivid impression on the hearts of his friends. The sunshine of his face was indicative of his hopeful temperament and serene happiness. He visited the people to whom he had so long sustained the pastoral relation annually during his residence in Bangor, with equal pleasure to himself and them. The infirmities of age were borne with singular patience, and ended in his removal to a better life.

Rev. William Bourne Oliver Peabody, D. D., died at Springfield, Mass., May 28, 1847, aged 47 years. We have the promise of a suitable notice of Dr. Peabody's character, which we hope to give in our next number.

Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D., died at (Jamaica Plain) Roxbury, Mass., June 1, 1847, aged 75 years. We hope to be able to present, in a future number, a suitable notice of Dr. Gray's character and life.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

SEPTEMBER, 1847.

Art. I. — JOHN CALVIN.*

The author whose name we connect with this article is a Catholic scholar with a decided fancy for Protestant subjects. He had already achieved extensive celebrity by a "Life of Luther," and in "The Life of Calvin," if he has not advanced, he has not lost in reputation. Luther appears to be a greater favorite with him than Calvin, if we can admit degrees of comparison where the opposition to both is fundamental and unqualified. But there is a glow in his life of the manly and burly German, a latent admiration which often bursts forth into eloquence, and at times amounts almost to enthusiasm. There was nothing in the colder Frenchman to excite such emotion or such expression; and assuredly there was nothing in his speculations to do it. Audin's estimate of either would not, of course, satisfy the votaries of either; but the adherents of Calvin would be more displeased than those of Luther. Antagonist in principle to both, from temper as well as theology, his personal antagonism is naturally the stronger against Calvin. But this does not hinder him from doing justice to Calvin's great merits as a thinker and a writer. Intellectually he awards him special praise, — many would say too much at the ex-

* *History of the Life, Works, and Doctrines of John Calvin.* From the French of J. M. V. Audin, Knight of the Order of Gregory the Great, etc., etc. Translated by the Rev. John McGill. Louisville: B. J. Webb & Brother. 8vo. pp. 562.

pense of the other Reformers, — and personally his tone towards him is not always harsh. In the Life of Calvin, as in that of Luther, there are frequent passages of genuine eloquence; but in the Life of Calvin they are suggested by topics subordinate and incidental, in the Life of Luther they are inspired by the hero. In both works, he evinces considerable powers of description; and by scenes and episodes, presented with a happy dramatic liveliness, he contrives to relieve and refresh the mind of the reader, while at the same time he illustrates the main subject and adorns it. To this purport are his agreeable chapters in the biography of Calvin on "The Universities," "Private Life at Geneva," and "Literary Friendships." In the history of his hero, he gives in a great measure the history of the times; and this not in cold and abstract generalities, but in the flesh-and-blood life of their feelings, opinions, habits, and institutions. The author has evidently brought to his task a diligent and elaborate scholarship. He has prepared himself thoroughly for his work; spared no pains in collecting materials; and neglected no means to establish and to guard his positions. On some points he has thrown a light of certainty for ever. Among these is the remarkable letter of Calvin to Farel, expressive of his intention, should Servetus come to Geneva. Grotius asserted that he had seen the letter; Mosheim doubted its existence; Audin has set the matter at rest. He copies the entire document *verbatim* in his book, and marks the exact position of the original in the King's Library in Paris.

The works of this writer present a fair specimen of the Catholic temper of our age in the discussion of disputed subjects; we do not think, that, when compared with the Protestant temper on the same subjects, it has any cause to fear on the ground of charity, learning, or candor. At all events, these works give us the Catholic view in our own day of the extraordinary revolution in the sixteenth century. Protestants may read them with advantage; we need not say, they should read them with a liberal and enlightened caution, with as much vigilance as fairness.

We cannot praise the author's style. Yet we cannot condemn it as singular. It combines faults, however, which, though common to the literature of our day, are distributed over many species of affected composition. We cannot wait to give a full account of any, but we will hint at two or three

of them. One we may call the *dynamically dramatic* style. We use very hard words to designate extremely hard reading. This style admits of no tense but the present; of no mood but the imperative; of no appeal but force; of no impression short of intensity and passion. It never deigns to *indicate;* never bends to the familiarity of narrative; never condescends to equality of converse or communion; and fiercely scorns the degrading task of giving information or instruction. In this style, words are not signs, but objects, and language not a medium, but always life itself, and action, direct, palpable. You are not simply to listen or to read; you must burn, you must throb; you must not look, but stare; and you are not properly moved, if you do not grow black in the face. A milder tone or effect more gentle is not "real," is not "earnest."

Another kind of style carried to excess in the literature of the time is the *pictorial.* It *tells* nothing, it paints every thing; and, moreover, it paints minutely. It opens a subject by drawing a picture of some personage; it shows you where he is at a certain season or certain hour, what his appearance and his age, what his costume, what he is doing, and who is with him. Not content with this, it paints a companion picture of some other personage, to let you see how he also looks at the same time, and how he is engaged. The pictorial is often varied by the *suggestive;* as when you are informed that one man is born when another is dying; or one is ruddy with youth, when another is withered with age; or one is obscure, when another is famous; or one is lowly, when another is in power, and so on; — all, because two men who are to find distinction in history are near each other in the order of existence, and far from each other at a given moment in their situations or stages of life. The last we shall allude to is what we shall venture to name the *asthmatic* style. This is full of interruptions, of sudden pauses, of quick transitions, as if the author's genius was short of breathing, and must incessantly stop to gasp and cough. Audin's style has the faults of all these united. We wish for no level uniformity of expression. We would exclude no boldness or variety of diction; neither would we banish any honest personal peculiarity. Every individuality of phrase, every grammatical arrangement of words, in due proportion and at proper intervals, may be used, and may serve to enrich, to strengthen, and to embellish language.

But what at first is novelty, too frequently occurring, soon becomes mannerism, and mannerism in literature is as odious as cant in religion. That which in the beginning was felicity, reiterated, merges into trick; it fails to produce either illusion or surprise; and when it passes from the original inventor to the mechanical imitator, it is offensive and intolerable. The sweetest melody will not bear constant repetition. The strain that charmed us in the concert-room disgusts us in the street; we listened to it with rapture when it was first sung; we desire to fly when it comes to us on the barrel-organ; and if we are not where we can retreat, we give the man a shilling to move on.

Leaving now M. Audin and his work, we propose to consider the life and character of the remarkable man to whom his pages are devoted.

Whatever opinions may be formed concerning the good or evil of the Protestant Reformation, it must be considered a stupendous revolution in the affairs of humanity. Many persons, and among them Protestants, dispute the beneficial tendencies which its defenders ascribe to it. They say that it did not advance civilization, but retarded it; that it tore Christendom to pieces; that it aroused the most sanguinary national and civil wars; that it overclouded the light of learning which had just begun to shine; that it barbarously trampled on every art of beauty and of grace; and that every benefit which it is said to have given to society would have been sooner obtained without it, and by a better agency. They assert, that, while it has introduced selfishness into civilization, and doubt into religion, it has filled the community with elements of anarchy; that, by weakening or destroying the principle of obedience, it has not only rent the peace of the sanctuary, but endangered the safety of states; that it has substituted mere opinion for faith, logic for devotion, theological disputes for brotherly communion, and hordes of conflicting sects for one grand and universal church. Such assertions appear to us to be very vain. No change has ever occurred in the world, for which, looked at from different sides, with different feelings, other possibilities might not be substituted, — better or worse, as the imagination of the speculator is disposed to shape them. If one event had not been, what other might be no man can predicate. The ways of Providence constantly reverse the most plausible human inferences, and constantly defy all human fore-

sight. We, of course, hold that the Reformation was needed and desirable; but, even were such not our conviction, according to all that we can see it was inevitable. It originated in such causes as produce all revolutions; — the natural desire of the governing to enforce their prerogative with bolder claims where any claims are questioned; the disposition stirred up in the governed to question them the more; the refusal on one side to concede moderately, while moderation is yet bounty; the advance on the other in their demands, until they insist, as a right, on what they had supplicated as a boon. At this point, both parties have taken fixed positions; they are face to face as antagonists; the time of negotiation has passed, the hour of battle has arrived; *after* this, there remains for the revolters but subjection and submission, or independence and separation. The agencies which ended at this state of things with the Reformation did not begin with Luther and Calvin, but they assumed more direct action, and issued in more determinate results. It was no longer a contest in the schools, which theology was waging; it was no longer a question between doctors; it was no longer between Augustine and Pelagius, Bernard and Abelard; the people gathered to the fight, — the decision was no longer trusted to college or conclave, to the Sorbonne or the Vatican. Excellent or otherwise, so it was; right or wrong, this was the fact. The people depended no more upon the preacher's lips for knowledge; they could have it also from the printed letter. But the printed letter did not deprive them of the spoken word. The one stirred their enthusiasm; the other laid hold on their intellects. They went from the orator, panting for the *book*; they came from the book, prepared for the orator; and both formed them for thinking and resistance. The vernacular tongues of Northern nations became more cultivated; and men of genius arose among them, who spoke and wrote in the dialects of the people. The popular mind was brought into contact with the cultivated mind, and in the contact each gave new power to the other. These had never been so combined before. Protestantism, humanly regarded, was the natural and necessary effect of a strength made complete by the united zeal of scholarship, free thought, and passion.

The century before the Reformation was a period of transition. Forces long active in society were, as we have

already intimated, approaching a point of concentration and development. A crisis had arrived, and it required but a single event to determine the catastrophe. The event occurred. St. Peter's church was to be finished, and the Roman treasury was low. An indulgence was proclaimed, and contributors to the building fund were to share in its benefits. This, we apprehend, would be the Roman Catholic view of the matter. The money was not, according to their idea, given as the *price* of an indulgence; but laid as an offering on the altar of the Church, and for the glory of God. Whatever explanation be offered concerning the spiritual design of indulgences, and in whatever light they may be regarded by the devotional and pure of heart among those who believe in their efficacy, there is no doubt that in the present instance gross abuses accompanied the distribution of them. The characters of some of the agents to whom they were intrusted were any thing but stainless, and the distribution of indulgences, as they managed it, did practically become a sale. But it does not, we think, consist with Christian charity or with theological candor to charge on a whole church the conduct of individuals; neither is it a true statement of doctrine or fact to represent indulgences as license for sins to come, or even as absolution for sins already done. The truth is, that the indulgence supposes the sin forsaken and the guilt forgiven. Indulgences originated in the early Church, and consisted in remitting a portion of the ordained penance, when the penitent evinced exemplary signs of contrition. The Roman Catholic religion teaches, that, even when deadly sin is pardoned, the soul is yet subject to a temporal penalty in this world or the next; also, that the soul is subject to a like penalty when the sin is not deadly, that is, not so heinous as to incur the sentence of everlasting misery; — and it is such penalty that indulgences are said to remove. Although our concern with indulgences is only as they relate to the Reformation, still, we trust that the brief explanation of them which we have here ventured to offer will not be unacceptable to our readers.

The preaching of them at the era which we are considering was attended with circumstances that offended the pious and the virtuous, who had never questioned, never thought of questioning, their spiritual value, or the authority that dispensed them. Then came forth the man of his age, in his

greatness and his might. The son of an humble worker in the mines, his youth was cast in the most inclement circumstances; and in the toil of destitution, with all the obstacles around him that beset the lowest poverty, he acquired the elements of learning. Nor, so far as luxury is concerned, was his condition greatly altered, when he found shelter for his studies in the retirement of a monastery. This is the man who now stands up in the rusty garb of a friar to oppose the missionaries of the Vatican. One act of resistance emboldens him for another. Proceeding from point to point of attack, he enters the very citadel of the Church at last. In the beginning, he denounced only the abuse of indulgences; then, indulgences themselves. The Pope's authority was here involved; it was exerted against the daring innovator, and by him in return it was defied. He appeals from the Pope to a general council; no general council is to be had; after much arguing and much writing, he denies the infallibility of even a general council. Luther stood, thus, an individual against the world; thus he asserted the rights of the individual conscience against all the power of men and all the claims of churches. Luther stood thus against all the world; and man there has seldom been better constituted to face a world. No liberal thinker, be his theological opinions what they may, will exclude Luther from the circle of great men; and however small a critical severity may esteem that circle to be, it must have space in it for Luther. Great he was; and we apply the epithet to him in its simple import and with emphatic meaning. We call him not great in any special limitation. In calling him great, we speak not of him as we do of a great soldier, a great statesman, a great scholar, a great divine; we lay aside distinctions, and, with fulness of phrase, but yet precision, we call him in all the compass of the term *a great man*. Fervent in passion, glowing in fancy, powerful in understanding, affluent in words, he was equally commanding in eloquence and action. Of untiring energy in thought and deed, his heart was as simple as it was gigantic; and if his words were often fierce, to words alone his fierceness was confined; if often gross, grossness belonged to the polemic diction of his times. Gifted with many talents, he was fitted for many works. Scholar, theologian, lecturer, preacher, he could spend months in solitary study, he could pass from the cell to the crowd, and the multitudes which his voice had gathered his

zeal could set on fire. He could meet the subtle logician, and give him battle with his own weapons in the cunning fence of dialectics. He could stand amidst assembled princes, and with prophet courage utter his bold, free speech, fearless alike of monarch and of priest. He could sit in the college chair, and dispense wisdom to listening youth. He could ascend the village pulpit, and nourish in peasants' souls the life for heaven. And when he had done the work of scholar, theologian, lecturer, preacher, laying aside his professional robes, he appeared clad in all those kindly graces that rendered him the delight of the social and domestic circle. Having Europe for his arena, pontiffs and kings for his opponents, admiring nations for his audience, his personal meekness in private was never injured by the grandeur of his relations in public. Hearty, friendly, unpretending, of open speech, easy of access, cordial to his intimates, indulgent to his family, — he was not less gentle in the peace of home than he was bold in the strife of the world; and, willingly as he rushed to this strife, he came back more willingly to that peace, to fill it with refining pastimes and pure companionship, with the sweetness of music and the gayety of witty converse, with all those inward charities that, while they bless retirement, train the soul for its best and bravest action in the more open fields of struggle and of duty. Preëminently, this was the man of the century, — and that century was the sixteenth.

Born as Luther and Calvin were for the same age, and in it, yet their characters stand in very striking opposition. Luther was made for the forum; Calvin for the cloister. Luther was the greatest orator of the Reformation; but Calvin was the greatest thinker. Luther was a man of indomitable energy; Calvin was a man of profound meditation. Luther was a man of impulse; Calvin was a man of logic. Luther was a man of action; Calvin was a man of dogma. Luther communicated his glowing passions to the hearts of the living multitude; Calvin wrote his creed on the intellect with a pen of fire, and the intellect into which he had burned his opinions retained the marks of them for ever. Indicating, as we are, the opposition of the individuals, we should not disregard the further modification of this opposition by the difference of nationality. The mind of Calvin was eminently French; it was precise and definite, with the tendency that characterizes that mind in general to reduce all

thoughts and things to a system, added to a hard consistency, all his own, which carried logical extremes into practical results. Luther's mind, on the other hand, was thoroughly German; deep, thoughtful, many-sided, and capacious; prolific in imagination, and ample in discourse of reason; not arrayed with ornament artfully disposed, but rich in native beauty; crowded with ideas, not marshalled and set in order, but mingling as a throng of worshippers in a mediæval church, — the great with the low, the noble beside the mean, where pictures of saintly loveliness were near to others grotesque, laughable, and odd, yet where the whole melted into harmony in the softness of a dim, religious light; — a mind more full than exact; not so much analytical as poetic; melancholy and mystical withal; given to see visions and to dream dreams; partaking of the superstition which often haunts the grandest souls, *the second-sight* that sees more things in heaven and earth than technical philosophy conceives of or will allow, yet that has in its apparent folly glimpses of eternal truth to which the utmost wisdom of sensualism is obtuse and blind. If we dared to contrast the minds of Calvin and Luther by visible similitudes, we should find the likeness of Calvin's in the regularity and method of a modern post-office, and that of Luther's in the massive and sublime complexity of an ancient cathedral.

Upon the incidents of a life so well known as that of Calvin we have no occasion to be minute. We shall touch merely on some of its prominent points, marking, as we advance, such events and characters as most affect us. Our sketch may not be very connected, but we shall do our utmost that it shall not be tedious.

John Calvin was the son of Gerard Calvin, a notary of Noyon, in the south of France. His father is described by Beza, whose account we mostly follow, as respectable both in circumstances and talents. Calvin had the additional advantage of domestication in an amiable and noble family, with the younger members of which he went to Paris, where he had for his first tutor the famous Corderius, whose Colloquies urchins of the last century could well remember. These Colloquies were then the Latin Primer, or Latin Reading-made-easy; and youngsters who learned Latin in the last century were not likely to forget Corderius, not simply from impressions on the mind, but often still deeper ones on the body. After Corderius, Calvin received the instruction

of an eminent Spaniard, whose name Beza does not mention. Calvin was intended by his father originally for the church, and accordingly to this object all his first studies were directed. But, although he enjoyed some ecclesiastical emoluments, it does not appear that he ever entered fully into orders. The elder Calvin, however, changed his mind, and supposing that the law would be for his son more advantageous than the church, to the law he would have him turn the current of his thoughts. The younger Calvin did not object, and gave himself zealously to preparation for the legal profession. But, while he became a proficient in the law, he did not neglect divinity. He applied his intellect with the deepest attention to meditation on the Scriptures, and to all the forms of knowledge that pertain most directly to Biblical criticism. While still young, Calvin lost his father, and, being thrown into Paris, he became a convert to the new opinions that were then agitating the world. His expression of them, in the beginning, was by proxy, and not in person. The mode of this vicarious confession of heresy has something about it that is almost amusing. One Nicholas Cop was a friend of Calvin's; and Nicholas Cop became rector of the Paris University. Calvin wrote for him his introductory oration, and in this oration insinuated some of the recent theology. The rector, good, easy man, read on, suspecting nothing; the young and brilliant heresiarch all the time, no doubt, laughing in his sleeve. But if the rector was unconscious, not so was the Sorbonne, which was as sensitive to a false doctrine as critic Bentley would have been to a false quantity. The Sorbonne philosophers were excited and indignant. Heterodoxy had dared to come into the very midst of them, to profane their presence; to tread upon that floor, upon which it should have been as impossible for a heretic to stand as a slave upon the soil of Britain. They censured the oration, and the orator became alarmed. He evaded trial by a retreat to Basle; and Calvin, whose agency in the matter was suspected and discovered, found safety and a refuge with the Protestant Queen of Navarre.

As soon as it was safe to do so, Calvin returned to Paris; and there was at the same time in the city a Spaniard, commonly called Servetus, whose name has ever since been, and ever will be, joined to that of Calvin, — we will not here say whether for praise or infamy to the Reformer. But so it is,

— they are joined together by a chain of destiny which will last as long as human memory lives in human history. Calvin at this time, though of few years, was of rare maturity in judgment. Servetus was exactly of the same age, but he was far from possessing the sagacity or prudence of his contemporary. He wished, however, to meet him, and to discuss with him questions concerning the Trinity. They did not meet; something occurred to prevent Servetus from keeping his appointment; and the friends of Calvin assert that Servetus feared him. It may have been so, and we care not much whether it was or not. It had been well for Servetus, if, thus fearing Calvin when Calvin was as weak as himself, he had equally feared him when he had the power to destroy him, and used it. Francis the First taking a strong part against the Reformers, Calvin once more quitted the kingdom, never to reside in it again. He took shelter in Basle, which seems to have been a city of refuge for heretics in general, but for the heretics of France in particular. Here, in 1535, he published his greatest work, "The Christian Institutes," — and, any way considered, it is a magnificent production. He had already written an able commentary on Seneca's Epistle concerning Clemency, and yet he was only twenty-six years of age. To have accomplished such things at such a period of life argues a most astonishing maturity of genius.

Having published the Institutes, he made a short visit to the Duchess of Ferrara, and then returned for a brief space to France to settle his temporal affairs. Prevented by the wars then raging from getting back to Basle or Strasburg, according to his intention, he went unconsciously, and as if by accident, to Geneva. William Farel, a native of Dauphiny, and Peter Viret, of Orb in the territory of Berne, devoted adherents of the Reformation, were then zealous teachers of it in Geneva. How zealous they were may be imagined from Farel's address to Calvin, which was after this fashion: — "I denounce unto you in the name of the Almighty God, that, if, under pretext of prosecuting your studies, you refuse to labor with us in the work of the Lord, the Lord will curse you as seeking yourself rather than Christ." Calvin, as Beza goes on to say, terrified by this dreadful denunciation, surrendered himself to the disposal of the presbytery and magistrates. By the votes of these, and the consent of the people, he was not only elected preacher,

but was also appointed to the professorship of theology. Thus, at the age of twenty-seven years, he had mastered all classical and theological studies; had published a stupendous treatise on scholastic divinity; had been elected to high offices in the Protestant Church, when to fill any office in it was to fight against the mightiest in the world. At home with Jewish rabbis and Christian fathers, he was not less familiar with the highest models of thought and diction which Pagan literature had given to the world. How thoroughly he was imbued with that of Rome, especially, may be seen from the admiration with which critics speak of his own Latin style, — and these critics are, many of them, among his most uncompromising opponents.

Eminence seldom brings ease. Disturbances soon began to arise in Geneva, which even the strong mind of Calvin was not able to control. Some of the wealthy citizens, it appears, did not much relish his rigorous discipline. They did not wish to absent themselves from the Lord's Supper, but neither did they wish to take Calvin's test for their admission. Then, withal, some other difficulties existed. There was a class of persons denominated "Libertines," with whom Calvin had long to combat. Their name belongs not to their morals, but to their opinions, and these opinions it would take us too long to explain. What we can collect about them from the Reformer's biographers is most vague and doubtful; and much of it is what we should, in our day, call by the comprehensive and convenient generalization, "transcendentalism." But one thing is certain and definite respecting both parties, — that the Libertines did not like Calvin, and Calvin did not like the Libertines. Calvin, in the end, subdued and crushed them. — But we must return to the sacrament question. The church of Geneva, it appears, had ordained the use of common bread in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and dispensed with the use of the font in the administration of baptism. The Synod of Lausanne held both for fonts and unleavened bread. Here again was a source of division and a cause of trouble. Calvin was as yet a stranger, he was not yet firm on his throne, or short would the dispute have been; but the party against him at this stage of his course was strong enough to brave him. He was for common bread and no fonts. They, possibly, did not care; but unleavened bread and fonts were as good materials for an opposition as any other. Calvin and

his friends would have the matter debated in a synod to be held at Zürich, whether in the Lord's Supper the bread should or should not be leavened, and whether in baptism there should be fonts or not. The opposition party would have no arbitration; they were competent to settle their own affairs. They demanded the sacraments, and in their own way they must have them. Calvin would not let them have them in any way. It was put to the trial; the decision was against him, and he was exiled from the city. "When Calvin," observes Beza, "heard of the decree of banishment, he said,—'Certainly, had I been in the service of men, this would have been a bad reward; but it is well that I have served Him who never fails to repay his servants whatever he has once promised.'" Leaving Geneva, he sojourned for a short time in Basle, and then went on to Strasburg. He staid here until 1541, with remarkable eclat. Calvin was then recalled to Geneva, where for the remainder of his days he lived and reigned. Two of his companions and himself formed, certainly, a most remarkable trio. Calvin, Farel, and Viret were all great preachers, and each had a greatness of his own. Calvin was a deliberate thinker; Farel, an impassioned orator; Viret, an engaging and persuasive exhorter. "I have often thought," says Beza, "that a preacher would in a manner be perfect, who was formed by the united excellences of the three."

Calvin, after two attempts to find a wife, succeeded in a third. He married while in Strasburg a prudent and a pretty woman. Her name was Idelette de Burie. She was the widow of one Stoerder, by whom she had had several children; by Calvin she had but one, who did not survive infancy. His domestic life, commencing with no ardent feelings, continued tranquil to the end. It was attended neither with transports nor vexations; and he could as freely as ever devote himself, with all his energies, to the multifarious engagements to which his temperament, his genius, and the circumstances of the age called him.

But if Calvin had no annoyance in his home, it was different with him in the world, and especially in the little world of the Genevese state. One of his most formidable opponents here was Ami Perrin, the Captain-General. The Reformer and the soldier seem to have regarded each other with any other feelings than those of meekness; but, in the end, the Reformer was the victor. Calvin, as he himself

somewhere acknowledges, did not possess physical courage; yet there were instances in which he manifested a personal bravery that would have done credit even to the heroism of Luther. Audin presents in vivid and picturesque description a scene where Calvin exhibited great coolness and boldness of spirit. Ami Perrin was brought to trial for sedition, and other alleged crimes. He was an idol with the people; they were enthusiastic in his favor, and in the same degree they were furious against Calvin.

"The Council of Two Hundred was assembled. Never had any session been so tumultuous; and the parties, weary of speaking, began to appeal to arms. The people heard the appeal. Calvin appears unattended; he is received at the lower part of the hall with cries of death. He folds his arms and looks the agitators fixedly in the face. Not one of them dares to strike him. Then, advancing through the midst of the groups, with his breast uncovered, — 'If you want blood,' says he, 'there are still a few drops here: strike, then!' Not an arm is raised. Calvin then slowly ascends the stairway to the Council of the Two Hundred. The hall was on the point of being drenched with blood; swords were flashing. On beholding the Reformer, the weapons were lowered, and a few words sufficed to calm the turmoil. Calvin, taking the arm of one of the councillors, again descends the stairs, and cries to the people that he wishes to address them. He does speak, and with such energy and feeling, that tears flow from their eyes; they embrace each other, and return in silence."

Ami Perrin is ultimately deposed from his titles and employments, and the office of Captain-General extinguished.

Gruet was another person who caused vexation to Calvin, and to whom at last Calvin proved himself a fatal enemy. On some night in the May of 1547, a paper was affixed to St. Peter's church in Geneva, applying to Calvin numerous harsh and contemptuous expressions. Gruet was a comic poet, whose comic power, however, it would seem, was more noticeable than his poetry. To this Gruet the spies pointed as author of the offensive paper; and the public suspected what the spies affirmed. The house of Gruet was searched; fragments of ribald verse and pieces of irreligious prose were discovered among his papers, but nothing answering to the vituperative document. An accusation was drawn up against him, one part of which charged him with impiety, and the other with being the author of the

placard. He was supposed to have accomplices. He was accordingly tortured at frequent intervals for a month, and sometimes twice in the same day. "Finish me, in mercy!" he cried out in his torture; "finish me, I am dying!" If the poet had companions, he did not name any. He was firm to the end, and merely confessed that he had posted the obnoxious composition on the church. His body broken by the rack, his strength exhausted by repeated agony, he was on the point of expiring when he was carried from the dungeon to the scaffold, and there was struck from him the miserable portion of life that remained. Calvin was requested to draw up a form of condemnation against the writings of Gruet. He consented, and did so. From a paper in the handwriting of Calvin, giving the minutest instruction to the magistrates on the form and the manner in which they should pronounce condemnation on these productions of Gruet, it is manifest that the process against them was at Calvin's own instigation. He describes them as containing the most shocking blasphemies and the most atrocious principles. But much less than this was needed to mark them with detestation; for in the indictment under which their author had already perished, it was declared that "all contradicting the Reformation, as well by *word* as *will*, were rebels, and deserving of grievous punishment." Now, these compositions, against which Calvin thought it necessary to enter so formal a prosecution, and to pronounce so elaborate a condemnation, consisted of thirteen dirty and torn leaves all together. They had never been printed. The sentiments or the authorship had never been brought home to Gruet. Had they been, there was no evidence to show that his object was to publish them; and as they were found amongst dust and rubbish, there is, on the contrary, a presumption that he had thrown them away. Galiffe asserts that there is nothing even to prove that Gruet was the writer of them. He places the mortal crime of the reckless wit in two words, which he wrote on the margin of Calvin's book against the Anabaptists, and these two words were, "All Fudge." Who would have imagined that a counterpart of Goldsmith's Burchell in the Vicar of Wakefield existed in a Swiss poet of the sixteenth century? But, above all, who could have expected to find the austere argument of the sternest logician designated by the same phrase in which Burchell condenses his opinion on the elegant conversation of Miss Carolina

Wilelmina Amelia Skeggs? It is not, then, in fiction alone, that the ludicrous stands beside the pathetic. But, indeed, if it were not so in reality, it should never be so in romance. The common maxim has it, that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous; but in actual experience, there is often only one step from the comic to the tragic, from the banquet-hall to the prison-house, from the jest-book to the death-warrant, from laughter to despair.

To specify, even with briefest allusion, each of those against whom Calvin directed the might of his influence, and whom that influence destroyed, would be a work for which we have neither space nor inclination. Passing over, therefore, Bolsec and many others, we shall devote a few words to Castalio. Castalio was one of the finest scholars in an age of great scholarship. His name has even still a charm to the imagination of the learned; and there is a pathos in his story that has interest for all. Calvin and he first became acquainted at Strasburg, and their intercourse there had all the intimacy of students and of friends. The Reformer afterwards invited him to Geneva, where for a time he was regent of the grammar school. They soon fell into the contest of rival theologians, but the contest was of very disproportioned inequality. Calvin had all the advantage which comes from force of character, dignity of office, and the possession of unquestioned power; Castalio was dependent, and a stranger. Since they had known each other in Strasburg, there was more than the estrangement of years to separate them. Change had done its work more effectually on Calvin than on Castalio. Castalio retained much of that freshness which belongs to a man of literature; Calvin, besides the gloom of his natural character, had, if possible, added to his original severity by unrelieved application to dogmatic and polemical theology, by exhausting devotion, also, to the cares of the church and the cares of state. Castalio brought upon himself the censure of Calvin by passages in his translation of the New Testament; but still more, by his denial of canonicity to the Song of Solomon. To this fragment of Hebrew poetry Castalio attributed any other inspiration than that of purity, either human or Divine. They likewise disputed concerning man's liberty and God's decrees; and, as in all the controversies of the age, they pelted each other with abundant scurrility. Cas-

talio, from all that we can judge, was not a man of irreproachable character; but had he been stainless as the sun, the spiritual atmosphere of Geneva was unsuited to his temperament. He quitted Geneva for ever. Some writers assert that Calvin treated him with harshness and injustice. It is right, however, to state, that Bayle maintains the contrary, and insists that the conduct of Calvin towards him was forbearing and even generous. As to what Beza asserts whenever the fame of Calvin is in question, it is worth but little; for he always assumes that opposition to Calvin is opposition to truth, and that to differ from the Reformer is to rebel against God. At all events, the end of poor Castalio was in wretchedness. He was reduced to the most pitiable destitution in the town of Basle, where, in the forty-eighth year of his age, it is said that he died of actual starvation.

This would now be the proper place to tell the story of Servetus, and of his connection with Calvin. But the matter is too important for an episode; and we will, therefore, defer it, until we have followed out the course of Calvin to the end. We are the more disposed to take this method, as it will afford us a better opportunity to enter on a deliberate review of the whole transaction. That Servetus had long been known to Calvin; that letters had passed between them; that in these letters, and in printed books, Servetus broached opinions which Calvin deemed heretical; that Servetus incautiously came to Geneva, and after one night was arrested there; that he had never published any thing there, nor in any way promulgated his doctrines within the state; that he had no intention ever to do so; that he proposed to quit it at once; that Calvin procured his arrest; that this was followed by a long trial; that the trial issued in sentence of condemnation; that, in virtue of such sentence, Servetus was openly put to death by fire;—all this is notorious, and, for the present, it is sufficient.

As we are not writing the biography of Calvin, we need not dwell at length on the remainder of his life. He had put all his enemies under his feet; and all who were opponents to him were enemies. Ami Perrin was humiliated. The Libertines were subdued. Political faction sunk abased in the presence of a dogmatic intellect and a priestly *will*. Secular legislation, spiritual conviction, personal character, social manners, all were drawn within the Reformer's control, and all took the direction of his command. Theo-

logical dissent within the range of Calvin's sway had now no safety. Speculation beyond the limits of the five points was bondage, banishment, or death. Indeed, within them or beyond them contradiction to the theory of Calvin was, in most of the Swiss churches, to make destruction sure. Castalio defended the freedom of the will, and expiated his temerity by exile and starvation. Bolsec denied predestination, and was glad to get out of prison with his life. Servetus wandered into heretical mazes while following out visions on the Trinity, and found his way only to the stake. Gentilis received a stigma from Calvin; it was a mark for doom, and he carried it on his front, until, with his head, it was struck off at Berne. Calvin's writings had now spread over the whole of Christendom; and, through them, the *mind* of Calvin ruled absolutely in the Protestant churches. To a great extent it has ruled them ever since; so that the spirit of one dead Calvin has governed with a more potent sway than the authority of fifty living popes.

But one kind of potency has no more power to secure its possessor against bodily decay than another. The scholar must as surely meet it as the soldier; he that subdues minds, as he that subdues nations. And, physically, the monarch of thought must be laid as low as the monarch of a throne. Calvin had never been robust; he had never been one of whom medical men would have augured protracted life. His labors went on accumulating, and so did his diseases. Yet, as his diseases increased, he only seemed to multiply his labors all the more. He did not seek to improve by care his constitution, originally weak, to nourish it by food, and to strengthen it by exercise. He never much indulged at table, and for the last ten years he had ceased to dine. Body does not live by mind alone, and the mind abides not here without the body. But though the body of Calvin began to crumble, the mind of the strong man kept its supremacy to the last. The struggle could not long hold, however. On the 8th of February, 1564, the last strife began. From that time Calvin taught no more in public. He had delivered his last sermon, and he began rapidly to fail. Gout, asthma, colic, quartan fever, spitting of blood, had each in its turn, and frequently, attacked him; they now seemed to conspire, and came upon him with their united power. On the 27th of March, he bade farewell to the senate. Carried to the door of the house and supported into it,

uncovering his head, he returned thanks for all the favors he had received; then, with difficulty and a fainting voice, he said, — "I think I have entered this house for the last time." On the 2d of April, he received the communion in the assembly of the church. On the 25th, he made his will, and calmly disposed of his very moderate possessions. Calvin then sent for the civil authorities of the state, to whom he made an affecting and solemn appeal. On the 28th of April, the pastors came in a body to see him; and to them he spoke in tones of a deeper and closer sympathy. He met the ministers once again at a social meal, which usually took place two days previous to Whitsuntide, and which on this occasion he desired should be at his house. Being carried into the chamber where they were collected, "I come," he said, "to see you, my brethren, for the last time, never more to sit down with you at table." On the 27th of May, he seemed to gain increase of strength and clearness of voice; but that day he died. His spiritual faculties were not for a moment weakened or clouded. He was a great man; we do not love him, but we make no unwilling acknowledgment of his greatness.

Audin accuses Calvin of having preserved no friends. This is not strictly true. The venerable Farel, father of the Reformation in Geneva, whose fiery eloquence opened the way for Calvin's stricter logic, loved Calvin in the beginning and loved him to the last. Calvin came in time to replace, by his orderly method and decisive firmness, the passionate zeal of Farel, which, if it had consumed the power of the Reformation's enemies, was now fast exhausting the patience of its friends. Farel felt that his work was done at Geneva, when he saw the young and gifted fugitive, whom events had driven in the right hour to the vineyard that waited for him. Calvin, the true man for Geneva, had come; and Farel, with rare magnanimity, not merely welcomed, but compelled him to remain. He departed rejoicing from the scene of his triumphs; went to seek another field in which to labor, and left his successor to reap the harvest that he had sown. Calvin was not slothful. Well did he care for the fruits of the Protestant word, and much did he increase them. He, too, was to quit his stewardship, but not to change it for any other upon earth. He was dying in Geneva in his fifty-fifth year, when Farel in his eightieth was yet living in Neufchatel. "Farewell, my best be-

loved brother," writes Calvin; "and since God is pleased that you should survive me in this world, live mindful of our friendship, which has been of service to the Church of God, and whose fruits we shall enjoy in heaven. Do not expose yourself to fatigue on my account. I respire with difficulty, and continually expect to draw my last breath. It is sufficient happiness for me, that I live and die in Christ, who is gain to his people in life and death. Again farewell, with the brethren." This letter was written on the 2d of May, 1564, to dissuade Farel from taking a journey which he had determined on, to bid adieu to the dying Reformer. He came, however, to Geneva, had an interview with Calvin, and returned next day to Neufchatel.

Calvin had another devoted friend, and that was Beza; Beza was to Calvin what Calvin had been to Farel, a new mind to replace the old with such novelty as new circumstances required. Beza was born in 1519, and was of a noble family in Burgundy. He had excellent natural talents, and the best opportunities to cultivate them. One of his teachers was the celebrated linguist, Melchior Wolmer. In his youth, he possessed remarkable facility of poetic composition; and in this period of his life he wrote some Latin verses of a loose description, which, though he sincerely repented of them, were always pointed weapons in the hands of his theological opponents. But the opponents did not stop with the verses. They urged charges of a more atrocious nature, which, to the shame of candor, are still occasionally reproduced. Bayle has met these accusations with the minutest scrutiny; he has examined them with the utmost keenness of his searching skepticism; and the man who can read his argument all through, and not feel that the refutation is complete, must have an intellect so obtuse, or bigotry so determined, as to render every effort hopeless to reach him by reasoning or evidence. The readiness to credit any charge against an opponent, however wicked or improbable, is a melancholy characteristic of religious controversy. And yet we might suppose that the past was fruitful enough in lessons of caution for all parties, if they would only learn them; and that it taught none more forcibly than the wisdom of suspecting statements against rivals, when made, not by bad men alone, but even by the best. When we observe Catholic writers of respectability coolly raking up vile fabrications against the Reformers, from the foulness of an age

of coarseness and an age of passion, we should receive with a skepticism which not only charity enforces, but experience and common sense demand, the equally outrageous criminalities that Protestant vituperation attributes by wholesale to numerous bodies in the Roman Church.

The youth of Beza, however, was not a pure one; and in after days he must have felt how sins at the beginning of life, in spite of repentance, embarrass the whole of it. This youth of his was spent in Paris. Without any office in the priesthood, he had revenues from the Church, and the sinecure benefices from which he drew them imposed no labor but the labor of spending them. This, usually, is not a severe or difficult one; and with Beza we do not learn that the toil or the obstacles were greater than with others. Rich, young, handsome; gifted, besides, with eloquence and genius; the temptations to a brilliant and thoughtless life of pleasure were neither few nor weak. Beza did not resist them, — at least, he did not overcome them. In mind and body nature had been prodigal to him of her benefits. Socially, his lot secured him important privileges in a privileged order. With talents that added lustre to station, and an extent of culture that gave full efficacy to his talents, we can hardly picture to ourselves a man every way more fitted for the refined sensualism that a luxurious city can afford. What a contrast is the youth of Beza to the youth of Luther! With Beza, there is no poor scholarship, no singing of hymns in the streets for alms or lodging. He is proud before his teachers in the consciousness of birth; he is proud among his fellows from the superiority of genius; and the singing that he does is not of olden psalmody, but of modern ditties, — not the solemn chantings of the church, but the gay lyrics of the bower. With Beza, there was no trouble about an old garment, nor care how to provide a new one, though, as a man of fashion, he no doubt paid strict attention to its color and its shape. With Beza, there were no dreamings in a monastery, no fastings and prayers in a cell, no cleanings of a dusty Bible, no meditations on St. Paul, no misgivings on the method of justification, no longings for a pilgrimage to the Holy See, no hungerings of soul to behold the splendor of the Church in the metropolis of Christendom. It was not thus with Beza. He was the jovial man of letters, the polished man of quality, the careless man of pleasure. He could argue with students;

he could pay compliments to ladies. He was equally at home in a folio of divinity or a folio of romance. He could quote with equal readiness the Odes of Horace or the Confessions of Augustine; the love-songs of Tibullus or the dogmatics of Aquinas. The hours which he could take from study were not spent in the mortifications of the cell, but in the fascinations of the garden; not spectral visitants, but the Graces, danced around him; and, taking from the present all that the present could bestow, he was at ease about the future. Dreams, however, do not last, and the awakening came to Beza in the terrors and the pains of a severe illness. He changed his course of life; he had long before changed his religious opinions, and with the moral change he avowed the theological one. He married a woman to whom he had been attached and pledged; and as France had then no place for him, he fled to Geneva. Calvin received him with delight, for he beheld in him one worthy to be his successor. This was in 1548, and Beza was twenty-seven years of age. At present he did not remain in Geneva, but went on to Lausanne, where, as Greek professor and theological lecturer, he excited universal admiration and enthusiasm. Having remained there ten years, he returned to Geneva, and became a settled worker with Calvin in the ministry.

Calvin was worn out, not so much with years as with toil; but, could his vigor have lasted longer, Beza was the man whom Protestantism then demanded. Calvin was the apostle to scholars; Luther, the apostle to the people; Beza was the apostle to courts. Such an apostleship was now wanted, and Beza was a man furnished for the mission. Protestantism had begun to agitate nations, and to be closely interwoven with political affairs. Princes feared, and flattered it. The dispute had been carried from the schools to senates, — from the audience of the pulpit to the armies of the field. Mingled up with earthly interests, it must make use of earthly agencies; it must have battles, and it must have diplomacy. Beza was the *diplomate* of the Reformers; and for such a character no man among them was suited but himself. Highly born, accustomed from infancy to aristocratic life, graceful in person, elegant in manners, he was easy in the presence of princes and amidst the luxury of courts. To these lighter requisites he added the more solid attainments of the thinker and the scholar; the strength of

an able writer, the persuasiveness of a fine orator; the grave authority of a divine, and the shrewd sagacity of a politician. These qualities were often during a long life called into exercise, and, upon the whole, they were exercised for good. He was upon numerous occasions negotiator, adviser, mediator, in the civil and other wars between Roman Catholics and Protestants; not seldom he was the reconciler of parties among the Reformed themselves. While Calvin lived, Beza attached himself to his person with what we are tempted to call a savage fidelity; and when Calvin died, Beza attached himself to his memory with a fierce devotion. Beza, though not by nature of ungentle temper, yet, whenever his master's opinions are concerned, imbibes all his master's passions. For the opponents of Calvin he had no mercy in this world or the next; burning here, as well as hereafter, according to his view, was their proper destiny. He wrote a book to prove it. He would have sacrificed their lives in Calvin's presence; he immolated their good names upon his tomb. He did not see the tortures of Servetus, but he fully justified them. We are not called on here to point out the inconsistency of such a principle with Protestantism; we are not called on to point out its worse than inconsistency; we have to do only with events, and inferences that flow from them. The event in the present case is, that Beza issued a treatise to sustain the doctrine of persecution; our inference from it is, that, so far as any man can become accountable for the errors of his age or of a system, Beza charged himself with the death of Servetus, and with all the misery which such a doctrine has ever caused. Still, although he did write in favor of killing heretics, we think, that, with the prophet's mantle, the disciple did not retain more than one third of the prophet's spirit.

Our general idea of Calvin's character may be gathered incidentally from what we have already written. We have said that he had greatness, but not the greatness which we can love. His intellect was of exceeding subtilty and strength; but it was narrow, definitive, and hard. It had keenness and consecutiveness, but it was not high, broad, or suggestive. It was the intellect of a schoolman, not the intellect of a philosopher. It was aided by a memory equally extraordinary for accumulating and retaining; into which all knowledge was gathered that had any affinity with its speculative tendencies; and in which, however multifarious, order

and arrangement placed it ever at command. The industry of Calvin was superhuman; and the amount of mental work which he accomplished, not in occasional efforts, but in sustained regularity, is one of those marvels of fact, which, though settled by evidence beyond doubt, seem still incredible, — which transcend our conception, and yet compel our belief. His sincerity was unquestionably pure, and his consistency inflexible. His life was one of unmitigated employment; and even if his disposition inclined him, his avocations did not permit much social relaxation or much social companionship. His ideas of duty were almost ascetic, and in practice he was faithful to his ideas; so that if his conscience imposed a stern rule upon others, it imposed as stern a rule upon himself. His piety was genuine; it was true to his own views of religion; and in the estimate of personal character, we have no right to judge it by any other. He loved power, but he did not love money. Intolerant in opinions, in worldly concerns he was liberal. He coveted dominion, he obtained and he held it; but he was disinterested in all besides.

Calvin's intellect, we have observed, was energetic and distinct. But Calvin was defective in most of those qualities that adorn and enlarge, elevate and soften intellect. He was void of idealism and sympathy. Even in his religious experience we find no aspirations, visions, strugglings, ardors, or ecstasies. We never find him, like Paul, looking back with strong but sad affection to his former brethren, while we observe him constantly stigmatizing the faith in which he was trained by terms of odium and rancor. Making every allowance for opposition to creeds supposed to be destructive, still a man of genial nature does not entirely cast off, in the utmost zeal of conversion, the associations that wound about his youth. Nor had Calvin personally any reason to be angry with the Church of his boyhood, or with its members. He was early in the enjoyment of a portion of its worldly goods; and his abilities were fostered and protected in their first development by a generous and noble family of that Church. But we do not find in him, as we do in Paul, any deep-felt desires for interchange of heart even with the members of his later faith; nothing like those words of longing and affection that fill the Epistles of Paul with such inspirations of humanity. Neither do we ever discover in Calvin any of those mighty con-

flicts between the higher will and the actual, which reveal to us in the great Apostle the compass and the grandeur of the spiritual life; and as with the Reformer there are no conflicts of the soul struggling in the flesh, so there are no rapt enjoyments that free it from the body and carry it in visions up to heaven. Poor as a spiritual man, he also fell short in all that makes the poetic or the social man. Outward nature was dumb to him, and blank. To say that he held not communion with the sounds and forms of creation; that he went not beyond the veil that hides from the sensuous the deep things of the universe; that he did not trace the latent analogies that link together the wondrous diversities of nature, and join them all by a living bond to thought; that he did not question nature with cunning skill, and pluck out the heart of her mystery;—to say this would imply, what we by no means intend respecting Calvin, a comparison of him with men of the higher imagination. We might test him by a lower order and find him wanting. He evinces no sense of beauty. The stars do not shine for him, or flowers grow; ocean and mountains, the glory and loveliness of skies, the changes of the day and the changes of the year, as sources of pleasure or illustration, seem as if to him they had no existence. It is rarely thus with men of the loftiest devotion; thus it was not with Isaiah; thus it was not with David. Calvin shows no liking for the arts. Painting, or music, or poetry, does not appear to have been among his enjoyments. Within the range of his acquaintance we find no painter, no musician, and Beza is the nearest approach to a poet. But before Beza saw him, he had repented of his poetry; and, indeed, unless his translation of the Psalms be esteemed poetry, he never wrote any that he should not have repented of.

The influences of living society fell as barren on the heart of Calvin, as those of the arts and outward nature. We conceive of nothing free, cheerful, gladsome in his presence; no pranks of childhood, and no joy of men. He is not one whose gown we can fancy children plucking at, to share his smiles. We can imagine near him no careless wit, no jestings, no songs, no merriment, no gay babble, no shaking of the sides heaving, from the irrepressible gladness of the heart, with gushings of delight that must have expression, that will not be silent. We never conceive of him as of objects at noontide, receiving the direct light from heaven,

and rejoicing in its fulness; sharing it with others, and not obscuring it. His presence, on the contrary, seems a perpetual shadow, and all within the range of it covered with gravity and gloom. The prophet of everlasting and infinite calamity to human souls, he is himself frigid, but not afflicted. His word to the mass of our race is a word of eternal death, yet his limbs do not tremble, and his eyes are not wet. Pallid, calm, and ghastly, he rises before our fancy as one fit to announce the funeral of the universe.

We will conclude this paper by giving the sum of our impressions. Supreme in the vigor of his intellect, Calvin was small in the compass of his sympathies. He was poor in sensibility, in fancy, in affection, in gentle associations; and without these the scholar is but a machine of words, and the thinker but a machine of logic. Who ever feels towards Calvin as he does towards Luther? Those manly, though often stormy, passions, that mingled in the life of the majestic German, endear him to our humanity; for there always lie below them a benignity and sweetness of nature, that gleam through the tempest, and that shine out with softened lustre when the tempest ceases. All honorable antagonists of Luther speak now of him with respect, and sometimes with enthusiasm. They see in him a robust opponent, who gave desperate blows, but gave them bravely. His friends lose sight of his faults in the depth and breadth of the excellence that absorbs them. They behold a great heart panting in him; often violent and often indignant, but big enough for a huge pity as well as a huge anger. We can picture Luther to ourselves melted with sorrow. We can see his broad bosom heaving with grief. We can see tears on his noble face; and we can feel that he is of our kindred. It is not thus that we feel about Calvin. Except in theological zeal and theological passions, he presents himself to our thoughts as a sombre and dogmatic intellect. We cannot set him before our fancies in woe or bliss; we cannot picture him in weeping or laughter; we cannot regard him as associating cordially with men in their daily life, interested in their occupations, sharing their emotions, entering into their afflictions, and brightened by their pleasures. Taken from the palpable events of his biography, we cannot otherwise shape his existence to our minds than as the personification of his system, the incarnation of the Institutes.

In some future paper, we shall examine the connection of Calvin with Servetus. H. G.

Art. II. — RELATION OF LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY TO OUR AGE AND COUNTRY.

[An Address, delivered before the Ministerial Conference in Boston, May 26, 1847. By Rev. Samuel Barrett.]

As a class of Christians, we are devoted, in part, to a peculiar work. In our distinctive character and associated capacity, we are pledged, as to other duties, so to the correcting of an erroneous theology. Unlike all other sects, with the exception of two or three, we seek to spread a purified Gospel. Amid the confusion of many conflicting creeds, all of which we regard as the product of human invention, it is our aim and endeavour to bring back the minds of men to the few great principles which, proceeding from the divine fulness of the Master, Jesus, converted the souls of the first disciples; which have sustained the vitality of the Christian system in every age; which our own times especially need, to disarm skepticism and conduct the process of social regeneration; and which alone, we believe, can fulfil to the future the special promise of the Saviour respecting his Church, that "the gates of hell shall not prevail against it," and the hope inspired by his teachings in general, that the Gospel will sanctify and save the world. We feel, or think we should feel, that we have a mission, though in character somewhat different from, yet in obligation not less sacred than, that of the apostles themselves; the mission which devolves on all who, in possession of truth, can aid the progress of thought, and, breathing the spirit of charity, are fitted to win men to the love of their Father in heaven and of their brethren on earth.

Not unnatural, therefore, is it, nor altogether useless, I would fain think, will it be for us, to consider the relation of Liberal Christianity to our age and country, the circumstances and events which do or will affect that relation, and particularly such tendencies of the times, if such there be, as are suited to encourage the hopes and quicken the efforts of ministers whose religion and lot and duties are like our own.

I have used the epithet Liberal. The word Unitarian might have been employed. Both of them well enough suit me. But it is a matter of little moment whether or not we care often to designate our faith by any name except that of Christian, compared with the fact that we all agree in pro-

fessing to hold and to teach the Gospel in its simplest, purest, and most efficacious form. Whatever we call ourselves, or others denominate us, ours, happily, we believe to be the privilege and the duty to maintain and to inculcate the religion taught and exemplified by the Son of God, free from the additions which it received in its passage through the Dark Ages, which still adhere to it, more or less, in nearly all the sects of Christendom, and which, if not counteracted by other influences, but left to work out their legitimate results in the formation of character, would oftener produce monsters than perfect men.

Refraining from further attempt to define our views, — which would be out of place here, — let me try to fix attention, for a while, on the topic already announced; in order that we may notice together some of the elements of a true answer to the question, whether, as not a few affect to think, we are like men born out of season, — a sect for the existence of which, in such an age and country as ours, there is no sufficient apology, — toiling in behalf of interests for which human nature, in its sanctified state, manifests no sympathy, Divine Providence vouchsafes no smile of approval, and neither the present nor the future gives promise of success; or whether, as many besides ourselves believe and assert, we are right in respect both to our time and our place, — charged with the advocacy of a form of religion which humanity at once needs and craves, surrounded by proofs of Heaven's benediction, and privileged to rejoice in the prospect that the principles to the furtherance of which we are consecrated will finally be coëxtensive with the prevalence of Christianity.

In view of a subject dividing itself into so many topics, each involving a variety of considerations, it seems to me difficult to determine which to select for remark, and which to omit, — where to begin, or where to end. Two general facts, however, under which all others suited to the purpose of this Address arrange themselves, seem to press upon attention at the outset.

One of them is implied in the saying, as true as it is trite, that we live in an age of extraordinary improvement. On every side, and in all spheres of thought and action, we perceive signs of a progress never before witnessed. Annoying to many very worthy, quiet-loving people must of course be the agitations that belong to such a state of things.

Nevertheless, the characteristic of the times under notice is as justly a cause of congratulation as of remark. Now, what class of Christians can most naturally fall in with this onward tendency, and best take advantage of it for God and man? The Roman Catholics? They are moored by an old church establishment. The Orthodox Protestants? They are bound to the fixtures of ancient creeds. The chiefs of these Communions, and all others like them, can have no real sympathy with the great movements of the present day, so long as they remain true to their principles. On the past alone, — the hallowed, venerable, perfect past, — they dwell with satisfaction; and their discourse is querimonious, whenever prompted by any recent change of rite or dogma. One is reminded by some of them of the infatuated personage with the "turned head," described in the "Diary of a Physician," who used always to dress himself with his buttons on his back. To Liberal Christians it properly belongs, taking with them whatever former ages have transmitted of truth and goodness, to join — may I not say, to lead? — the ranks whose faces are forward. They are peculiarly fitted to live and act in an advancing age; and for this reason, besides others to be adverted to in the sequel, that, in the noble language of the old Polish Unitarians, they are not ashamed to improve. They, without any compromise of private principle or infringement of social obligation, can reject an error as soon as they see it; can receive a truth when it is disclosed to them; can abandon faulty modes of action and adopt improved methods at will; in short, can keep up with, or even go before, the times, like the word and spirit of Christ himself, embarrassed neither by individual scruples nor by ecclesiastical entanglements. And in this is an advantage.

The other of the two general facts, which readily occur to the mind when entering on a subject of this sort, is the remarkable hopefulness for the future that distinguishes our times. At no former period were mankind so confident of further progress as they are now. The present age not only looks back on those which are past, and asserts that it is wiser than they, but it glances forward on the periods to come, and proclaims that they will far surpass itself. This voice, feeble and stifled in many regions of the earth, rings out with an earnest distinctness from those districts in which the people are the most intelligent and free, enjoying the

largest share of light and the greatest liberty to make use of it. And which of the sects should it affect the most agreeably? Which of them, beyond all others, ought to interpret it as a token of encouragement? Not they who fancy that from Trent or from Westminster came, centuries ago, the best formularies of faith and practice the world is ever to see. It would be but affectation in such religionists to declare themselves pleased with the cry that heralds the coming changes. To them, verily, the words *progress* and *improvement*, in the comprehensive sense of modern times, must convey a startling sound. Be they Romanists or Calvinists, their golden age, ecclesiastically and doctrinally, has been, not is to be; and every innovation upon the past flutters their souls with fear, and to their quivering apprehensions something like a fall from a precipice seems before them. Not so with Liberal Christians, who are worthy of their faith. The hopefulness of the age appears reasonable to their minds; and there is that in their hearts which responds to it. It seems to them to agree with the spirit of the old prophets, with the tone of all Christ's predictions, with the daily intimations of Providence. Its voice, as they understand it, is also that of human nature proclaiming its origin, its capabilities, and its destination; of experience holding converse with the future; of deep calling unto deep. And their ears are open to it; they welcome it; they join in with it; they take courage from it. Doubt and fear are not for them, but belief and hope; and herein is an element of their strength.

Allied to the facts just noticed, there are others, which, if less general in their character and bearing, seem to me equally significant, within their legitimate scope, of the vantage-ground possessed by the advocates of Liberal Christianity.

The state of religious parties, for example, is not without interest to us in this relation. To the number and mutually conflicting claims of these, we, as a small band of reputed heretics, are much indebted for our safety. Besides, almost every one of them has been rent in twain; and we now find a portion of each more liberally disposed than it was before the division. Then, too, they are nearly all engaged in earnest controversy about creeds or usages that formerly passed amongst them unquestioned; — and what does this imply, but that men's minds are active on religious subjects;

that they are exercising the right of individual judgment; that many are dissatisfied with old doctrines and modes; and that, if there is something better attainable, they are resolved to have it? It is a common remark, moreover, that, in proportion as intelligence is diffused in any community, and the people are trained to independent thought, Orthodox teachers are constrained to cover the sharp points of their theology, and to give greater prominence to the practical principles of Liberal Christianity. We may be reminded, also, that several new sects have been formed; and do they not, almost without exception, stand on a less exclusive basis than the old ones? Are not their creeds shorter, less rigid, and more in accordance with reason and Scripture? But what is more particularly noticeable as an encouraging fact is, that, whenever and wherever a Christian party has organized itself on the principle of having no formulary of faith but the Bible, and no ecclesiastical authority out of and above its individual churches, it has come at length to adopt views similar, for the most part, to those which are cherished by us. And as regards our own sect, — if sect it may, without offence to any, be called, — we, indeed, know that it is not, comparatively, very large; and some say its growth is not rapid. But have any to learn that strength is not in numbers alone? The sober truth, in my view, is, that from our ranks there is going forth, at this moment, a greater power to shape public opinion, as to religion and morals, for the coming generation, than is exerted by any other single denomination of Christians in the land.

But the state of religious parties is less indicative of favorable tendencies than certain undercurrents of thought and feeling in society, which are seldom much affected by the creeds of churches, the disputes of theologians, and the movements of sects. There is that in human nature, not to mention other forces ever active in intelligent and enterprising communities, which neutralizes the effect of false doctrines and bad ordinances. How often do we find men, even of the straitest sect, conducting themselves every day, in private life, on the pure and generous principles of a common Christianity, and, in public, taking the liberal side of all important questions! As a means of ascertaining the popular sentiment in regard to religious matters, nothing is more deceptive than tables of ecclesiastical statistics. A large proportion of the churches of this Commonwealth, for

instance, are said to be Calvinistic; and yet, in fact, not one in twenty of those to whom such a belief is imputed thinks or feels or acts in conformity with it at home, or could be induced abroad to array himself against those who hold a milder creed. Errors float about in society, so clothed in words as to hide from men their meaning and power; and doctrinal phrases pass daily over the lips of thousands, of which could they only feel the spirit and significance, they would be led at once to perceive the discrepancy between the language they use and the sentiments they cherish, and to declare themselves, as they are at heart, Liberal Christians. One reason why this latent Unitarianism, if I may so term it, does not oftener manifest itself in revolt from the exclusive churches, and in accessions therefrom to our own, is, that those churches have been for some years free from excitements and other occasions of annoyance. But this state of things will not last long; and when it ceases, we may expect large additions to our ranks. Another reason is to be found in the general law of progress. In the natural course of events, forms of Christian belief continue to be cherished in a community which is far in advance of them. Usually, men are not in haste to abandon their accustomed religious positions, though convinced that there are others which are preferable. As the snake, some one has said, lives in his old skin until a new covering is perfected, so societies remain in their early ecclesiastical connections until they can mature their opinions and go forth thoroughly furnished. We must not be impatient because the process is slow. Believing that it is steady and sure, we may rejoice in good hope.

Kindred to the topic just remarked upon is another, the consideration of which should afford us encouragement. Not only is the heart of the Christian world losing its interest in those sectarian doctrines which, whatever truth they may seem to contain, are found to exert little good influence in common life, but it yearns, as it has done at no former period, for union. It feels that the Saviour meant something, when, in supplication to his Father, he besought that his disciples might "be one"; and it will never be satisfied, till the true import of the prayer be fulfilled. But what class of Christians, except that called Liberal, seems either to understand what Gospel unity is, or to hold the principles by which alone it can be effected? It is vain to look to the

Papal Church ; for it is impossible, in the nature of things, that any visible organization can embrace all the true disciples of Christ. Equally futile must be every Protestant attempt, like that of the late London Convention, to unite them all by means of a creed. If Christians are ever to be one, as Jesus prayed they might be, they will become so under the banner of love ; which is the same as saying that the union will take place on the ground occupied by ourselves. In other words, they must agree, like us, to lay stress, not on what is outward, but on what is inward ; not on visible churches and published creeds, but on the unseen, unwritten sentiment of love in the heart. The time is not so distant as some suppose, when, through the influence of this noble principle of union and fellowship, which distinguishes us, the value of Liberal Christianity will be generally acknowledged, and its ministrations sought from afar.

In harmony with this desire of union is another power at work, till lately unknown, which is doing a great deal for us ; — I mean, the principle of benevolent association in behalf of reform. This is one of the most prominent features of the age. The Gospel, in its later developments, aims not only to regenerate the individual man, but to amend all the institutions of society that are imperfect. In these days, every body, one might almost say, considers himself, by virtue of his Christian profession, as, in some sort, a philanthropist. The spirit of his religion goes outward ; it seeks to improve the condition of communities ; it would pour its healing waters into every impure stream that flows through social life. Ultraists, indeed, abound, who do much to spoil the good work ; but the great movement of which I speak is as glorious as it is surprising ; and, God be thanked, it is to go on. Now let it be observed, that not only is it the tendency of the associated action to which this new spirit of the age has given rise to unite members of various sects in the same benevolent enterprises, and thereby soften their prejudices, but its natural effect also is to show how, after all that has been said of the essential importance of certain doctrines rejected by us, the great principles of Liberal Christianity are, in fact, the only ones that are of any practical use in the business of reform. What company of earnest men or women, met to deliberate on ways and means for carrying forward a philanthropic movement of any kind, can be supposed to advert, even in thought, to the

seven sacraments of one church, or to the five points of another? Who, that, with intelligence and zeal, sets himself at work to promote temperance, to abolish slavery, to put an end to war, to improve the discipline of prisons, to take from penal enactments their needless rigor, or to change for the better any institution or custom of society, even so much as dreams of depending for success on any other facts, principles, or motives, of a moral and religious kind, than are furnished by Liberal Christianity? In short, and in truth, the reforming power, by whomsoever used, is not in sectarian peculiarities, but in what is common to all classes of disciples, who, reverencing their Master's authority, character, and word, strive to be filled with his spirit. And as the knowledge of this fact must be extended by every experiment of associated action for benevolent ends, the interests of our denomination will by the same means be advanced.

In connection with this reformatory spirit, let us glance at the material agencies of modern times; most of which tend, directly or indirectly, to favor the spread of such a religion as we seek to promote. Liberal Christianity, unlike other systems of faith, loves the open light of day; invites, rather than shuns, examination; is willing, not reluctant, to submit its claims to trial before reason and common sense; welcomes, instead of repelling, the spontaneous outgushings of the heart's natural sentiments; and feels itself at home and about its fitting work, not only in the church, but wherever living, active men toil, or travel, or congregate, or communicate with each other. Friends and coadjutors, therefore, it finds in the new instrumentalities of this later age (such as steamboats, railroads, and magnetic telegraphs) whereby distant communities are brought into proximity; or different classes of the people are enabled often to meet, and mingle, and converse together; or books are cheaply and widely circulated; or epistolary correspondence is increased; or channels, of any kind, for the free course of thought and feeling are opened in all directions. True, these are facilities of which other sects, as well as ours, may avail themselves; but the advantage is greatly on the side of Liberal Christians; inasmuch as where the collisions of mind with mind are frequent, and the sympathies of many hearts flow together uninterruptedly, a religion of plain truth and kindly fellowship, suited to men's common relations and pursuits, is sure, in the long run, to gain the victory over a religion of

mysterious dogmas and stern exclusiveness, which can be put to no good use in social or practical life.

In passing from material to intellectual agencies, our attention is arrested by an improved philosophy, fast gaining repute, which is in harmony with our views of religion, and cannot fail to be one of our most efficient helpers. Nothing seems clearer, than that the old set of notions, designated by the terms *sensational*, *material*, *necessitarian*, *mechanical*, has for years been on the wane. Spiritualism, so called, in one form or another, is now in the ascendant; and it is destined, in future, to rule the intellectual world. By spiritualism, I mean the philosophy which starts from conceptions of reason, rather than intimations of sense; which recognizes the higher nature of man; asserts the trustworthiness of the faculties; maintains the validity of human knowledge and faith; establishes the freedom of the mind, the right of private judgment, and the obligations of virtue, on facts of consciousness; gives vitality to nature by showing God in the midst of his works; and from evidences presented in man's mental and moral structure, in the ways of Providence, and in the law of life and death, draws conclusions, as probable as they are interesting, in respect alike to the reality, nearness, and benign government of the spiritual world. Such is the philosophy which an advanced civilization develops, and which it will sustain. Already its spirit has entered deeply into the departments of science, ethics, legislation, theology, and religion; and its prevalence and power will be more and more manifest as time and truth advance. Now, in my view, there is no sect of Christians which this improved mode of philosophizing will so much assist as our own. Before it, when fully and consistently carried out, irrational and degrading systems of religion cannot stand; but it is the natural ally of Liberal Christianity. The heralds of the one, as if from instinct, embrace the other. Spiritualism, in its true form, — for there is the spurious form, which causes young men and maidens, not a few, to dream dreams, and see visions, and prophesy lies, and some fathers and mothers in Israel to think and utter foolish things, — spiritualism in its true form, and the incorrupt Gospel, are henceforth to go hand in hand; and the interests of the latter, I cannot doubt, will be much aided by the influence of the former.

If we look now to the teeming press, and note the character of what it daily furnishes for the reading of the people,

we shall be reminded, in another way, of the liberalizing tendency of the age. Trash there is, in abundance; and a great deal of what has lately been written and published must exert a bad influence on manners, morals, and religion. Yet it is no exaggeration of the truth to declare, that literature, from the light essay to the profound disquisition, can enumerate more excellent works, as the production of the last half-century, than of all former periods since the revival of letters. What effect are they producing? Do the books, pamphlets, and papers, whose agency is like that of the winds, dispersing the evaporation collected in the higher regions of thought over the wide surface of society, contribute very much to the growth of those old theologies which have their roots in the soil of the Middle Ages? How seldom do we find, in any work of reputation which treats upon the science either of matter or of mind, — upon law, politics, morals, government, legislation, or social economy, or even upon natural religion and the evidences of Christianity, — so much as an allusion to such doctrines as the Trinity, total depravity, baptismal regeneration, the sacrifice of the eucharist, election, reprobation, vicarious punishment, salvation by faith alone, and everlasting hell-torments! Nor are topics of this kind oftener touched upon in poems, novels, orations, reviews, and newspapers. The current literature of the day seems divorced from every species of thorough-going Orthodoxy. So far as it contains the Gospel element at all, its influence is chiefly in favor of Liberal views. To be lamented, indeed, it is, that our popular authors do not avail themselves more frequently of the truths and sanctions of Christianity. But the reasons of this neglect lie, in general, where they are not commonly sought. The simple fact is, that religion, in the form in which it has prevailed, is such as educated men are becoming daily more ashamed of; — they may fall in with its ordinary and periodical ministrations; but they will not incorporate it with their writings. Men of high and pure minds cannot but love and respect the name of Christian, so soon as they understand its true import; but they will neither accept for themselves, nor allow their pens to be the medium of conveying to others, the elements of a religion that misrepresents God, contradicts the teachings of nature, does injustice to the affections of the heart, and reflects dishonor on the claims of the intellect. It follows, that, before the spirit of the Gospel shall thoroughly

pervade the products of the press, it must be more generally received in its own simplicity, purity, and power; but meanwhile we have cause to rejoice, that, in a negative way at least, the literature of the age befriends Liberal Christianity.

And what do we see in the department of education? Never before were such intelligence and zeal engaged for the culture of the young, as are now manifested. New systems of teaching are devised; modes of instruction, choice of studies, adaptation of text-books, the whole machinery of means, have been brought under severe revision. And among the results of all this, is any one thing more noticeable than that, whether regard be had to the theories most approved or to the actual workings of the systems generally adopted, the tendency of education, in our day, so far as it favorably affects morals and piety at all, is in the direction of Liberal Christianity? Consider the theories. With which of the three leading ideas of religion do they agree;—with that of the Roman Catholic, who, trusting in the power of the priest, looks for his chief good to a routine of intercessory rites; or with that of the Orthodox Protestant, who, relying on the efficacy of a mysterious faith, is content with being fed and stimulated by doctrinal assurances; or with that of the Christian Unitarian, who, depending on character as the main thing, strives, with all inward strength and by all external helps, to make this, in purity, elevation, and beauty, like that of Jesus, the great Model? Manifestly with the last. To educate, in the true and now prevailing sense of the term, is, not to alter the child's nature, nor to crowd it with foreign ingredients, but to bring out what the Creator put into it; to unfold its inherent capacities and powers; in a word, to train up the well-made little being to the stature of a true, well-proportioned, perfect man. This chief end, as the subject is understood by our most intelligent and experienced educators, all outward influences are to subserve. The Gospel even, and the constant aid of God's holy spirit, are supposed to fall under the same category of means for the full development of man's nature. Such is the modern theory of education. Words need not be multiplied to show how it clashes with the views both of Roman and Genevan theologians, or how exactly it accords with the principles of the Liberal faith. Can those views be for ever sustained, can this faith be long kept in abeyance, provided such ideas of human culture shall continue to prevail?

Turn now to the actual workings of the popular system of education. Are they adapted to turn out to order youthful Catholics or Calvinists? Where in the land is there a free common school, supported at the public expense, in which, were we to enter it on any day of the week, we should be reminded, by any thing either read or said, of the tenets that distinguish the exclusive sects? No wonder that zealots for ancient creeds and ordinances of human device grow restive, as they think how the rising millions of the country are taught, from year to year, in seminaries where only the Bible, without note or comment, is used as a religious manual, and, while the general principles of piety and morality are inculcated, all exercises in sectarian theology are forbidden. But that so it shall be, the people have determined; and the decision will never be reversed. What do we see in this, but at once a proof that the advocates of false systems of religion have less of power than of desire to sway the world, and another sign that the tendency of the age is with us?

But I have no right to be endless, even upon a subject that seems without end. It was, indeed, my wish and purpose to remark upon other topics. Happily, however, it has at length occurred to me, that there is a limit beyond which the patience of my hearers must not be wearied. Brethren, if a tithe of what has been said is true, have we not, as in the intrinsic excellence of Liberal Christianity, so in the outward facilities afforded by our age and country for its diffusion, sufficient reason for joy and gratitude and hope? Causes enough, indeed, for humility and self-reproach we cannot but perceive, as often as we cast a retrospective look on what we have done, or rather left undone, in the noble sphere of privilege and duty to which Providence has called us, both as individuals and as a sect. Nevertheless, seeing as we do, not only that the ship we sail in is stanch, and laden with what the world more and more wants, but also that she is sped by favoring currents and propitious breezes, let us, while lamenting the poor way in which, too often, we have heretofore trimmed her sails and guided her helm, thank God, take courage, and resolve that for the future our fidelity, devotedness, activity, and zeal shall be as our trusts and as our opportunities. Greater trusts and more precious opportunities the blessed Father of all hath not bestowed on any other members of his family on earth, since he spoke by his Son to the chosen ones of Judea. If they are

neglected by us, we shall incur the penalty of self-reproach, of Heaven's frown, and of the malediction of the civilized world.

S. G. Bulfinch.

Art. III. — MILLARD'S TRAVELS.*

This work possesses a peculiar interest to us as Unitarians. It is the production of a distinguished member of the "Christian" Connexion, that branch of the Church with which our own relations are becoming more and more numerous and important. A generation has now passed, since a large body of believers, in different parts of the country, came out by a simultaneous impulse from various religious denominations, adopting the noble principles, — "No creed but the Bible, no master but Christ." Since that time, they have increased in numbers, and now exist, in strong and prosperous organization, in sections where New England Unitarianism has scarcely been heard of. About twelve years since, it was our fortune to attend one of their camp-meetings in the heart of Georgia, to share their warm welcome, to take part in their simple but impressive services, and to learn, by conversation with their elders, how wonderfully Providence had led them, by the path of plain common sense, to the same results which others have reached by critical examination of the original Scriptures, and profound metaphysical investigations.

We feel that in some respects the untaught, spontaneous birth and progress of this body present a more interesting spectacle than even the growth of our own denomination. We look to them, too, to discharge in our country a task not less important than our own. In every essential particular, we give them cordially the right hand of fellowship. We cannot indeed, with our present light, disclaim, as they do, the name Unitarian; for that name is not only endeared to us by many precious memories and hallowed associations, but we feel that it expresses a truth, the great distinctive truth

* *A Journal of Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petræa, and the Holy Land, during* 1841 – 2. By David Millard, Professor of Biblical Antiquities and Sacred Geography, in the Theological School at Meadville, Pa. Third Edition. New York: H. Ludwig, 1847. 12mo. pp. 348.

which marks us out from others. That name, in our view, is not one which can be assumed or cast aside at pleasure. It is the proper descriptive title of the sentiments we bear; and can be lost only by a change in our belief. The assertion from the lips of any one, "I am not a Unitarian," appears to us properly to mean, "I am not a believer in the personal unity of God." Until, therefore, we see this matter in a different light, we cannot deny our name without feeling that we imply a denial of this great truth. We know that there are some among us who do not share this impression; we simply give it as our own.

But from our "Christian" brethren let us pass to the work before us. The author, who is honorably known to us as the associate of Messrs. Stebbins, Huidekoper, and Hosmer, in the School at Meadville, was induced, in consequence of ill health, to visit the Holy Land and the neighbouring countries, in the years 1841 and 1842. After a brief stay in Egypt, during which he saw the cities of Alexandria and Cairo, and the pyramids, he travelled, under the guidance and protection of Bedouin Arabs, through that portion of Arabia which is most interesting to us as consecrated by the wanderings of the chosen people and the giving of the Law, visited the wonderful ruins of Petra, and, entering Palestine from the southern border, passed on through Hebron to Jerusalem. The Dead Sea, the river Jordan, Gennesaret, the Great Plain, and the hallowed scenes of Sychar and Nazareth, were successively observed, until, from Beyroot in Syria, the pilgrim set sail for his native land. The descriptions are given with much vividness, and the observations made upon the topography of the scenes in our Saviour's ministry are distinguished by a discriminating good sense, which will neither believe implicitly every monkish legend, nor reject alike the tradition which is evidently fabulous and that which may have its origin in truth. We must except, however, to his judgment respecting the location of Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. The only argument that Professor Millard brings against the place which uniform tradition has consecrated is, that it is within the walls of the city now, and, as he says, must have been at the time of the crucifixion. That it should be within the present walls is the necessary result of the honor which has for so many centuries been paid to the spot. At least from the time of Constantine, the place recognized as that of the Holy Sepulchre

must have been surrounded by buildings, and have constituted a part of the city of Jerusalem. But the identity of the present limits of the city with its limits at the time of the crucifixion it is by no means easy to prove.

From our author's account of his visit to the pool or fountain of Siloam we select the following, interesting to us as shedding light on a singularly obscure passage in the history of our Saviour's miracles.

"I had read in Professor Robinson's Researches of the occasional irregular flow, sudden rise, and occasional rumbling commotion seen in this fountain. I did not expect to be so fortunate as to witness it myself; but while I was standing on the lower step, looking in the water, I suddenly perceived it was rising; and soon I was obliged to step higher to keep my feet from being wet. The water appeared in some commotion, bubbling in different places, and making a gurgling noise as it passed off. In a few minutes all was over, and the water settled back again to the usual depth. I can [not] but believe, with Professor Robinson, that this fountain is the real Pool of Bethesda. The Sheep Gate appears to have been near the Temple; and the wall of the ancient city probably ran along this valley. May not that gate have stood near this place; and may not this fountain be the real Bethesda?

"Of the real cause of this 'troubling of the waters' the natives can give no reasonable account. They say that 'a great dragon lies within the fountain: when he is awake, he stops the water; when he sleeps, it flows.' 'In the account of the Pool of Bethesda, situated near the Sheep Gate,' says Professor Robinson, 'we are told "an angel went down at a certain season and troubled the water," and then, whosoever first stepped in was made whole. JOHN v. 2–7. There seems to have been here no special medical virtue in the water itself; but only he who first stepped in after the troubling was healed. Does not this "troubling" of the water look like the irregular flow of the fountain just described?'" — pp. 276, 277.

The accounts most pleasing to us in our author's Arabian journey are his notices of Mount Sinai and the ruins of Petra. These scenes are not now for the first time described; but the following passages present to us so vividly the sensations which an intelligent Christian must experience in beholding them, that they impart to the reader a portion of the enthusiasm of the traveller.

"In about thirty minutes after leaving the chapel of Elijah, we arrived at the summit of Mount Sinai. Solemn indeed were

my impressions, as I stepped upon the hallowed rock, once signalized by the most awful display of Jehovah's presence, where Moses talked with God, and where the Law, written on tables of stone, was given to man as the sacred rule of righteous living. Was it a dream, that I stood on that hallowed spot? No, all was reality! I could see the place every way suited for the awful display recorded by the sacred historian. After indulging a few moments' reflections amidst a hasty view of the scenery, one of our company read from the holy book the ten commandments. Never had I listened to the sacred Decalogue with such solemn awe. I heard as if here receiving them from the Deity himself. I took the Bible, and silently read them over again. Never till my latest breath shall I forget the overwhelming sensations of my mind, while standing on the bleak, lonely summit of the sacred mount of God!

"The nearly level surface at the top of Sinai is about sixty feet square. Its elevation above the level of the sea is about 7500 English feet. At the eastern part of the level area is a small chapel, nearly in ruins. It has stood here for many centuries; and here, in the early ages of Christianity, monks and hermits used to retire and sing the praises of God on the summit of Sinai. About forty feet to the northwest of this is a small Mohammedan mosque, in a ruinous state. The followers of Christ and the followers of Mohammed have here united in early fixing, as by common consent, this spot as the place where the Law was given to Moses; and here they still unite in worshipping the true and living God."—pp. 140, 141.

Of one of the principal edifices found among the ruins of Petra, Mr. Millard says:—

"After a night's rest in the Corinthian tomb, and an early breakfast the next morning, we set out to inspect the extensive and wonderful ruins, spread out in lonely grandeur around us. Passing west to the small rivulet that runs through the place, we turned to our left and pursued the valley of the stream, leading up about southeast. In a little less than half a mile, turning by a small point of perpendicular rock to our right, the sight of a most beautiful edifice burst upon our view. We stood near to it. It is called by the Arabs *El Khasne Faraoun*, or 'the treasury of Pharaoh.' At the first sight of this wonderful piece of architecture, all three of us exclaimed, 'O, the beauty!' Mr. B. could not, for some time, cease to express his admiration, declaring, that, in all his travels in Europe, he had never seen magnificence to compare with this. I had seen various engravings of this beautiful structure, and had read different descriptions, but this was one of the instances where reality far surpassed anticipation.

"The entire edifice, however, owes much of its effect to the suddenness with which it bursts upon the sight; from [to] the beauty and freshness of its color, and from [to] its fanciful design; all in strange contrast with the loneliness of the place, and the wild, weather-beaten crags with which it is surrounded. Sheltered in an immense niche in the rock, it has been wonderfully preserved from the effects of the weather, and now retains the same lustre it bore when just finished by the artist. The rock in which it is cut, when polished, is of the most beautiful colors. It does not present a dead mass of dull red, but a variety of bright and living hues, from the deepest crimson to the softest pink; and sometimes verging to green, blue, orange, and yellow. All these colors intermingle [on] the surface in beautiful waves, reflecting all the lustre of the rainbow. The beauty of the rock into which they are formed adds vastly to the entire ruins of Petra. It is so unlike any thing I ever saw anywhere else, that it is impossible to give the reader a perfect idea of it.

"The mountain cliff, at this place, rises in perpendicular form for over one hundred feet, and it will be remembered that this vast edifice is cut in the solid rock. Every column, cornice, and indeed every portion of it, is in reality part of the rock where it stands. In front is a portico of four columns, with Corinthian capitals, supporting an entablature, above which is a gable with broad, highly-wrought cornices, in the centre of which is an eagle with extended wings. The entablature is ornamented with vases, connected by festoons of flowers, and the summit of the whole is crowned with a large, beautiful urn. On both sides of the portico are other ornaments of various dimensions. The columns are about thirty-five feet in height and three in diameter. One of these has now fallen, and lies nearly covered in sand and rubbish. Yet, from a distance, this missing brother scarcely disfigures the edifice." — pp. 194 – 196.

We discover in Professor Millard's work a few inaccuracies of expression, particularly in regard to names. For the pyramid of Cephrenes we have "the pyramid Sephrenes"; and for the mosque of the Caliph Omar we have that of "St. Omer." Other instances might be mentioned, some of them apparently mere errors of the press. In power of description, and in correctness and elevation of sentiment, the book does honor to its author. May it be the precursor of other volumes from his pen, — contributions to a truly Christian literature, and the commencement of a rich stream of theological learning which in future years is to flow from the new fountain in the West. S. G. B.

David Tappan.

Art. IV. — NOYES'S TRANSLATION OF THE PSALMS.*

The first edition of this work was issued in 1831 ; and it was reviewed by the late Dr. Greenwood in the September number of the Examiner for that year. His article, which is characterized by his usual elegance of sentiment and style, professes to regard the volume as one "intended for popular use, rather than as a critical help to the student." The view which he takes of it presents its claims to consideration on the score of taste and devotional feeling. It is in other aspects that we now propose to notice its value.

Dr. Noyes has acquired for himself a name and a place among the most distinguished living scholars of this country, through his labors in Hebrew literature. Various books of the Old Testament have been clad in a somewhat new attire by his diligence ; and his versions have been quite favorably received, not only in the denomination of Christians to which he belongs, but among those whose religious sentiments differ widely from his own. Reading of this character, however ably supplied, is not likely to obtain very extensive diffusion. Yet most of Dr. Noyes's new translations have reached a second edition ; all of them, we believe, except the last, which is entitled "A New Translation of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Canticles," in one volume, and which appeared only a few months since. The first production of this nature which he published was "A New Translation of the Book of Job," in one volume, which appeared in 1827, and of which a second edition was issued in 1838. Next came the first edition of the book which we propose to consider somewhat particularly in the present article. This was printed in 1831 ; the second edition in 1846. In 1833, the first volume of "A New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets" was presented by him to the public, and the remaining two in 1837 ; and a second edition of the work in 1843.

Among all the sacred writings which have thus been subjects of investigation and illustration on the part of Dr. Noyes, it is probable that the Psalms maintain unquestioned

---

* *A New Translation of the Book of Psalms, with an Introduction, and Notes, chiefly Explanatory.* By George R. Noyes, D. D., Hancock Professor of Hebrew, etc., and Dexter Lecturer in Harvard University. Second Edition. Boston : J. Munroe & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 367.

ascendency in point of interest and importance. In this light, at least, they have been generally regarded by both Jews and Christians. The copiousness, naturalness, fervor, and frequent sublimity of their devotional sentiment have appealed successfully to the heart of man in all generations since their composition; and we may be sure they will not resign their power in the lapse of time to come.

It is no doubt true, as is suggested by Dr. Noyes in his Introduction, that were the Psalms to be first presented to us in mature life, recommended by the charm of novelty, the impressions we should receive from them would be much more vivid and valuable than those they now communicate. Being accustomed to an inadequate and improper perusal of them in our early years, we are apt to fail ever after in our endeavours to pass the bounds of habit. The way in which we first accost and treat any work exerts an enduring influence upon our estimate of it. Lord Byron remarks in one of his letters, that he was never able to relish Horace thoroughly at any period of his life, from associations connected with the drudgery and irksomeness of his school-boy days; and every student can state more or less experience of a similar character.

Dr. Noyes mentions "the very imperfect translation" which is in most common use, as "another obstacle to a proper estimate of the poetry of the Scriptures." Now, we must frankly avow our conviction that, taking every thing into account, the translation of the Psalms contained in what is called King James's version of the Bible cannot justly be stigmatized as a "very imperfect" one. It is marked by some imperfections, indeed, as every translation of them must be; but, for the time in which it was prepared, it seems to us remarkably correct, and the progress of Biblical literature has, we believe, secured but few indubitable and important amendments. There are such amendments, however; and we owe thanks to Dr. Noyes for what he has done in bringing them within the reach of the common reader.

It has been often said, that poetry has properly two objects, utility and pleasure. So should every sort of composition have, as far as possible. The design of poetry is, indeed, more than that of most other composition, to gratify the ear, the taste, and the sensibility; and thus the bestowment of pleasure may, perhaps, be considered a larger ingre-

dient in poetical than in prosaic efforts. Lowth remarks, in his Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, that he could wish utility were represented as the chief object of poetry, and pleasure as only a means to that end. Utility ought certainly to be accredited as the only proper object of every thing. But then utility must be justly estimated. By a just estimate, pleasure, within suitable metes and bounds, is utility. The mere gratification which poetry affords deserves some respect.

Hebrew poetry possesses few, if any, charms of an external character, at least for the modern scholar. The graces of metre and rhyme, and all the pleasant devices of sound, on which most other poetry, both ancient and modern, depends considerably for its interest, are almost undiscoverable in the productions of the Jews. Much pains have been taken, with little success, to fix principles of quantity upon the Psalms. Their writers may possibly have had more reference to metre and other artifices than we of modern times can discern; for it is to be remembered that the true pronunciation of the Hebrew language is now unquestionably lost. The poetry of the Greeks and Romans has been considerably shorn of its original beauty, to our apprehension, from the same fact respecting their languages; and it may be that the poetry of the Old Testament suffers yet more largely from the necessary injustice of ignorance. The outward guise of the Jewish bard might appear far more lovely, could we fully comprehend the principles on which that guise was contrived. As it is, we can ascertain but slight evidences of art in its preparation. What has been largely treated of by Lowth, Michaelis, De Wette, and others, under the designation of ***Parallelism***, is the most distinctive device of form in Jewish poetry. And this feature cannot properly be considered altogether an external one. It is usually a repetition of the same sentiment in two or more different sets of phraseology. It is much the same thing in respect to thought, as our rhyme is in respect to words; excepting that parallelism relates to the entire sentiment of the line, and rhyme relates only to final syllables or words. This repetition or correspondence is supposed to have been designed for the responsive chanting of separate choirs. In general but two choirs were intended; though sometimes three. In addition to this parallelism there are but very few peculiarities of artificial structure to be dis-

cerned in Hebrew poetry. The only undoubted one, of consequence, is that which characterizes what are called the alphabetical Psalms, in which the initial letters of the lines or verses follow the order of the alphabet. This and one or two other traits of artifice, which sometimes present themselves in Hebrew poetry, bear considerable resemblance to traits of Icelandic versification, as described by Professor Rask.

The characteristics which distinguish Hebrew poetry are almost exclusively of an internal character, pertaining to the sentiment rather than the form. The phraseology employed is, indeed, to some extent, different from that of prose. What are called poetic forms of Hebrew are very numerous. The poetic style, too, is specially, daringly, figurative. Eastern nations indulge largely in hyperbolical expression, even when using what is called prose. Poetry transcends prose among them as much as among us. Accordingly, Hebrew poetry abounds in bold fancies, in startling conceptions, in striking personifications, in the loftiest exercises of the imagination. On the whole, we may well adopt the criticism of Lowth, which declares it "poetry, than which the human mind can conceive nothing more elevated, more beautiful, or more elegant; in which the almost ineffable sublimity of the subject is fully equalled by the energy of the language and the dignity of the style." So great a contrariety exists between Oriental and Occidental habits and associations, that the figurative phraseology of the Hebrews presents extreme difficulty to the interpreter. Their images are drawn, of course, mostly from objects of nature, from the arts, and from the manners and customs of society, almost all of which were very different with them from what they are with us; and it is impossible that we should, through any study, enter so fully into their life as to receive the same impressions which they received from their poetry. The severest effort can only approach such a result.

We now turn more particularly to the contents of the volume which has given occasion for the general remarks we have made on Hebrew poetry. It consists of an Introduction of somewhat more than fifty pages, a Translation of the Psalms, occupying over two hundred more, and Notes at the conclusion, to which nearly one hundred pages are devoted. In the first edition of the work the Notes were not collected in a body by themselves, but were placed as appendages of

the respective Psalms to which they pertained; and, of the two methods, the original one certainly had the merit of somewhat superior convenience to the reader, not to lay stress on economy of space. We can divine no better reason for the change than supposed improvement in the appearance of the page as a production of the press.

The Introduction opens with some remarks, mostly pertinent and just, on the general character and value of the Psalms. We will venture, however, to present the following criticism. Augusti and De Wette compared the Psalter to the Greek Anthology. Dr. Noyes mentions this comparison of "some of the German critics," and speaks of the "Hebrew Anthology, that is, a collection of the lyric, moral, historical, and elegiac poetry of the Hebrews." Now, the term *lyric* designates all the Psalms, as is expressly stated in the Introduction: — "In the Psalms we have merely the remains of the lyric poetry of the Hebrews." (p. 7.) There was, therefore, no occasion for the other epithets. De Wette denominates the Psalter a "Lyric Anthology."

In the second edition the Introduction contains considerable matter which is wanting in the first, and a large part of this new matter comes from De Wette. Three editions of De Wette's work appeared before Dr. Noyes's first edition. Still we find in that edition no other mention of De Wette than the slight one on page 13. The criticism which we are about to offer could not, therefore, have been made with reference to the first edition. We may observe, however, that in that edition Lowth is cited somewhat in the same way as De Wette in this. On page 2 of the Introduction, De Wette is mentioned as follows: — "The Psalms, says De Wette, are lyric poems." A large proportion of the subsequent pages, we observe, are derived from De Wette's "Einleitung," or Introduction, to his Commentary on the Psalms. It is to be feared that most mere English readers, if not most scholars, would hardly take occasion, from the manner in which Dr. Noyes refers to De Wette, to give the latter due credit for what is introduced from his pages. That we may not be thought to speak unwarrantably, we will exhibit a concise statement of the facts; premising, however, that we are far from accusing Dr. Noyes of an intention to mislead, or to make an improper use of other men's labors. We bring against him no graver charge than that of inadvertence. After the reference above men-

tioned there follow more than two pages literally extracted from De Wette, no portion of which is provided with marks of quotation. It is indeed said, on page 8, — "The Psalms have been classified in the following manner": and then a note is subjoined which refers the reader to De Wette's work, and to the Biblical Repository for 1833, p. 488, where this particular classification of De Wette is presented. But no reader, in our opinion, would suppose, without having consulted De Wette, that his ideas and his language are literally cited throughout these pages. We are the more surprised at this, because, on page 29 of the Introduction, there appears an extract of a shorter description, occupying less than two pages, which is expressly referred to De Wette, and inclosed in marks of quotation, though we observe that the volume and page of the original are not specified. On looking further, our surprise is augmented; for, at page 34, we find the following language respecting the parallelism of Hebrew poetry: — "A more complete view of its varieties" (than that by Dr. Lowth) "has been given by De Wette, in his Introduction to the Psalms, which I shall in substance transcribe," and there is reference, in a note, to the "Biblical Repository for 1833, p. 494"; and then come more than eighteen pages, which are taken nearly word for word from De Wette. The Introduction of De Wette was translated by Professor Torrey, of the Vermont University, for the Biblical Repository, and appeared with his name in the number of that periodical for July, 1833. Dr. Noyes has used Professor Torrey's translation without applying quotation-marks, or mentioning his name, and with only a general reference to the Repository, such as would by no means indicate precise and continued citation. It is of course impossible that two long translations from the German should agree almost exactly, when they proceeded from different minds. In the first quotation Torrey and Noyes agree, we believe, to a tittle, excepting that ten or twelve lines are omitted by the latter, a comma in one instance is substituted for a semicolon, and a "the" introduced before the word "Lyre," and in the reference to De Wette, which has already been quoted, the words "have been classified" are substituted for "may be classified." On page 29, in the last line of the first paragraph expressly quoted from De Wette by Dr. Noyes, "Ps. lx." is by mistake substituted for *Ps. lxx.* Torrey has it right. As to the longest extract, commenc-

ing on page 34 of the Introduction, the case is the same as it is in regard to the others. There are no deviations from Torrey which make it possible that the translation could have been original. There are, indeed, changes in the readings of the examples quoted from Job and the Psalms, so as to make them correspond with Dr. Noyes's versions. Three or four additional examples are introduced; the last paragraph on page 46 is expressly cited from Lowth, and the first on page 47 from Campbell; the second belongs to Dr. Noyes, as also eight lines on page 51. A few lines of De Wette are omitted on page 35. There is an omission of the article *the* on page 37. Torrey refers to Amos, chap. iii., instead of ii., which mistake is corrected by Dr. Noyes, on page 40; "were" is grammatically substituted for *was*, on page 44; "are" for *is*, on page 46; and "first two" for *two first*, on page 45; and the same sort of alteration occurs in a note on page 35. With these instances, we have faithfully enumerated all the variations from Torrey that we can discover in the entire passage. There are as marked deviations in the passage which is expressly quoted.

The mode in which Dr. Noyes uses Professor Torrey's translation produces a singular effect in several cases. On page 37, he says, — "*We shall* venture upon another classification," etc., which are words of his author. At the bottom of page 42, he has introduced from Lowth the mention of triplet parallelisms, two instances of which are presented on the next page; and then he proceeds directly with the incongruous language of De Wette, — "This species of *double* parallelism," etc. On page 48, he says, — "*I consider* the alphabetic arrangement," etc. These are words of De Wette. On page 49, two notes are awkwardly omitted, referring to "the author's remarks upon Ps. xxv. 22." On page 37 occurs a note to the name of Leutwein as follows: — "L. c. p. 51 seq." Now, the work of Leutwein has not been mentioned before in Dr. Noyes's Introduction, so that *loc. cit.* is wholly unintelligible, and the reader could not know, without referring to De Wette, what is the name of the work he is to examine at page 51. But, in the original, about twenty pages previously to this reference, we find the work of Leutwein named, which is "*Versuch einer richtigen Theorie von der biblischen Verskunst.* Tüb. 1775," or "Attempt at a Correct Theory of Biblical Versification. Tübingen, 1775." Hence the *L. c.*, which in Dr.

Noyes's Introduction conveys no meaning. We will just take occasion here to say, that on page 49, line 6 from the bottom of the text, Dr. Noyes has corrected an error in Torrey, who apparently substituted the Hebrew letter ו for נ; and on page 48, he or the printer has himself committed a similar error in substituting אֱלֹהַי for אֱלֹהֵי.

In addition to what is derived from De Wette, there are passages expressly cited from Tholuck, Bishop Horne, Milman, Luther, Dr. Durell, Dr. Hammond, and others, amounting to eight or nine pages; so that the original matter does not cover a large part of the Introduction.

At the conclusion of the Introduction its readers are told, — "The translator leaves the principles and views which governed him in his labors to be inferred from the work itself." It would have greatly simplified and shortened the business of criticism, had the translator furnished beforehand some outline of the plan which he formed and pursued. It is now necessary to study the whole volume, in order to gain even the most general notion of the results which it exhibits. We have studied it for this purpose, and have compared it with the original, availing ourselves of such helps as were at hand; and shall proceed to present a few comments on some of the chief peculiarities in the version of Dr. Noyes.

We suppose it a proper principle to be adopted by a person who undertakes a new version of any sacred book, that he will not depart from the accustomed phraseology, without imperative reason in respect to the sense conveyed or the beauty of the language which conveys it. The words of King James's version have acquired a sort of sacredness by time, which should not be unnecessarily impaired or slighted. Merely equivalent words ought not to be substituted for them. Dr. Noyes has made very many changes of phraseology, which do not come under the ban of this rule. Obscure Hebrew idioms he has sometimes expunged, to insert their simple sense. For example, he properly translates "I" or "me" instead of *my soul* in Ps. iii. 2; vii. 2; xvi. 2, 10; xvii. 13; xxx. 3; xxxv. 3, 7; and "he" and "him" instead of *his soul*, as in Ps. xxv. 13; and so, too, "me" instead of *my flesh* in Ps. xxvii. 2. We like the substitution of "race" for *seed* in Ps. xviii. 50, and xxi. 10; and of "offspring" for *seed* in Ps. xxxvii. 25, 26, and for *fruit* in Ps. xxi. 10. Many changes occur, however, for which we see no reason, and which therefore

seem to us unadvisable. For example, we cannot perceive why "shield" should be substituted for *buckler* in Ps. xviii. 2, 30, or "quaked" for *shook* in Ps. xviii. 7, or "rewarded" for *recompensed* in Ps. xviii. 24, or "mountains" for *hills* in Ps. xviii. 7, or "perverse" for *froward* twice in Ps. xviii. 26, or "exalt" for *magnify* in Ps. xxxv. 26. We perceive also a great many changes which we believe to be of still more questionable propriety. We like the good old word *blessed*, and are sorry to see in its place "praised," as in Ps. xxviii. 6, or "happy" which occurs thus more often, as in Ps. xxxii. 1, 2; xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 8. We prefer *fear* to "service" in Ps. xix. 9. We prefer *be moved* to "fall" in Ps. xxi. 7, and elsewhere; for the former is much the more emphatic. We believe *mercy* is better than "goodness" in Ps. xxxvi. 5. A few other points in the translation of Dr. Noyes deserve more particular remark.

The word יְהוָה, a name of the Supreme Being, is translated sometimes "Jehovah," and sometimes "Lord." In our common English version, it is always translated by the word LORD in small capitals. It is very plain, we think, as Dr. Noyes says in his Introduction is "perhaps" the case, that "the strict rules of interpretation require that it should be always translated by the same term." But, he says, he has "thought it best, in many cases, not to alter the name to which the feelings of the devout have been so long accustomed." Now, it seems to us, that, if Dr. Noyes could not in this, as in all the other books of the Scriptures which he has translated, employ the word Jehovah whenever the corresponding term occurred in the original, it is a pity that he employed it at all. We can see no peculiar reason for its use in the cases where it occurs. There is no apparent principle by which the particular translation is determined. In the very same chapter we find יְהוָה translated at one time "Jehovah" and at another "the Lord." In Ps. vii. at the beginning, the word יְהוָה is twice translated "Jehovah"; but in the middle and latter part of the Psalm it is several times translated "Lord." From a comparison of the two editions it appears that in the first Dr. Noyes used the word "Jehovah" more frequently than he thought advisable in the second; for example, Ps. i. 6; iii. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8; iv. 3 (twice), 5, 8; vi. 8, 9 (twice); ix. 6, 7, 9, 11, 16, etc. We wish he had expunged it entirely, or employed it invariably.

In Ps. ii. 4, the word "heaven" is substituted for *the heavens* in our common version, as a translation of the Hebrew word שָׁמַיִם. This substitution is of small consequence in itself; but we think that, in strictness, the same change should have been made in all cases where the original is the same; as, for example, in Ps. viii. 1, or 3.

In Ps. x. 16, xxi. 4, and cxlviii. 5, 7, the Hebrew expression עוֹלָם וָעֶד is translated "for ever," instead of *for ever and ever*, as in our common version. We think *for ever and ever* more exactly denotes the force of the original. But the difference is of small account. Consistency in rendering the original does not seem to us, however, of small account. Hence we regret to find that in many other places the same Hebrew words are translated "for ever and ever"; e. g. Ps. xlv. 6, 17; xlviii. 14; lii. 8; cxi. 8; cxix. 44; cxlv. 1, 2.

In Ps. vii. 5, the Hebrew word רָדַף is translated "pursue," instead of *persecute*, as in our common version. But in the first verse of the same Psalm the word is translated "persecute." In the following places, Ps. xxxv. 6; lxxi. 11; lxxxiii. 15, it is translated "pursue"; in the following, Ps. lxix. 26; cxix. 84, 86, and 161, it is translated "persecute."

There is special want of uniformity in the translation of the Hebrew word גּוֹיִם, plural of גּוֹי. In Ps. ii. 1, it is rendered "heathen," as in our common version; but in verse 8 of the same Psalm, and Ps. ix. 5, 15, 17, 19, it is translated "nations," though our common version has it *heathen* in all these places except Ps. ix. 17. In Ps. x. 16, Dr. Noyes translates it "Gentiles," instead of *heathen*, as in the old version. He translates it "kingdoms" in Ps. xviii. 34 (1st ed. "nations"), and "nations" in Ps. xviii. 49; xxxiii. 10; xliv. 2, 11, 14; xlvi. 6, 10; xlvii. 8; lix. 5, 8; lxxviii. 55; lxxix. 1, 6, 10; lxxx. 8; xciv. 10; xcvi. 10; xcviii. 2; cii. 15; in all which passages the usual version has *heathen*. In Ps. cvi. 35, Dr. Noyes translates the word "heathen," while in verses 41 and 47 of the same Psalm, he translates it "nations." In Ps. cx. 6, he translates it "nations"; in cxi. 6, "heathen"; in cxv. 2, cxxvi. 2, and cxlix. 7, "nations," though it is rendered *heathen* in King James's version.

The only other Hebrew word which we propose to consider particularly in this connection is שְׁאוֹל, or, as it is sometimes written, שְׁאֹל. This occurs in the Psalms, we be-

lieve, fifteen times. In seven of these cases, viz. Ps. ix. 17; xvi. 10; xviii. 5; lv. 15; lxxxvi. 13; cxvi. 3; cxxxix. 8, our common version renders it *hell;* in the other eight, viz. Ps. vi. 5; xxx. 3; xxxi. 17; xlix. 14, 15; lxxxviii. 3; lxxxix. 48; cxli. 7, it is rendered *grave.* In the first edition of Dr. Noyes's version, the word was rendered "grave" twelve times out of the fifteen. The three exceptions to this rendering were Ps. ix. 17; lv. 15; cxxxix. 8; in which passages the word was rendered "Hades." In the second edition, however, this word is discarded, and the new word "underworld" is substituted. In all but one of the passages where שְׁאוֹל occurs, it is translated "underworld" in the second edition. In Ps. xxxi. 17, the old rendering, *grave*, remains. As there is no peculiar reason why this rendering is preferable in the passage thus singled out from the rest, one is prompted to suppose that the word "grave" was left here by an oversight.* Whatever rendering is adopted, the merit of consistency is desirable.

It must be admitted that the word *grave* fails to express the full import of שְׁאוֹל. The word *hell* is a still more exceptionable rendering; at least, if it be taken in the sense which Christians ascribe to it. The Hebrew term has precisely the same import as Ἅιδης among the Greeks, or *Orcus* among the Romans. It denotes, as is observed by Dr. Campbell, "the state of the dead in general, without regard to their character or to their condition, either of happiness or misery." The word Ἅιδης occurs eleven times in the New Testament, and in every instance except one is translated *hell;* in that one, *grave.* It is not of so much consequence which of these various words, *grave*, *hell*, *Hades*, *Orcus*, or *underworld*, is employed to express the Hebrew term, as it is that its meaning should be explained and apprehended, and that its employment should be invariable. The term "underworld" has a singular aspect to an English reader. It comes from the German *Unterwelt.* We think the expression *lower world* would have served at least as good a purpose; and it would have been free from the great singularity of the German term. We should prefer the word *Sheol* itself (in the text as well as in comments; see Notes,

* There is another case in which the word *grave* occurs in the common version of the Psalms, and in that of Dr. Noyes, viz. Ps. lxxviii. 11; but here the original word is קֶבֶר.

Ps. vi. 5, p. 284 of Noyes) to most of the words by which it has been translated. The question, whether or not the Hebrews believed in the immortality of the soul, which Dr. Noyes answers negatively, would furnish occasion for interesting investigation; but in the present article we must forego the topic, and also that of the Messianic character ascribed to some of the Psalms.

We will briefly add two or three criticisms of minor consequence. One relates to the use of the pronouns *my* and *mine*. In King James's version the form *mine* is employed before a word beginning with a vowel. But the form is quite frequently changed by Dr. Noyes. For example, in Ps. xxv. 2, he prints "my enemies" instead of *mine;* in verse 11, "my iniquity" for *mine;* in verse 18, "my affliction" for *mine*. But we observe that the principle is not uniformly applied. Thus, in Ps. xviii. 39, we find "my adversaries," but in verse 48, "mine adversaries."

We observe a frequent change of tenses from the common reading, when no reason for the change is perceptible. As an example, take Ps. xviii. 25–28, where several cases occur in which the future tense of King James's version is altered to the present, without benefit to the sense, and in express opposition to the future tense of the original.

Lastly, the somewhat useful practice, adopted in our common version, of printing in Italics words supplied in addition to the Hebrew, so as to distinguish them from the express phraseology of the original, is neglected in the version of Dr. Noyes. Instances must of course be numerous; by way of specimen we will refer to Ps. xix. 13, word *sins;* xxxv. 23, *awake;* xxxvii. 10, *be found;* xxxvii. 23, *good;* xxxix. 6, *riches*.

In examining the work of Dr. Noyes we have used a freedom with which we trust that he would wish his labors should be reviewed by us, or by any one who is ready to acknowledge his title to the gratitude of the public for the attempt he has made to present a more suitable translation of the Hebrew Scriptures to those English readers who are (and to those who are not, if such there be) familiar with King James's version. We commend his work to the attention of the public. We duly honor the spirit with which he has long and diligently endeavoured to elucidate these precious relics of Hebrew literature. If he has failed to accomplish all that is desirable, allowance should be made

on account of the difficulty of the undertaking. For what he has actually effected he should receive our thanks, without a word of unkind disparagement, which we certainly should be among the last to employ in regard to one who presents high claims to respectful consideration from every lover of sacred learning. D. F.

Art. V.—STUDY OF ORNITHOLOGY.*

The purpose of this work is sufficiently indicated by its title. It is not a record of the results of original investigations, but a work for young students in this department of natural history. It appears to be well adapted to its object. The author has collected the most interesting and valuable facts in ornithological history; his descriptions are concise, clear, and picturesque; the volume is, to an unusual degree with works of this description, well provided with plates; and all condensed into a small compass. Besides this, it has an admirable Preface, well written and full of excellent suggestions as to the best mode of teaching natural history, the importance of the study, the mutual relations of the different departments of science, and the vital connections by which all are bound to religion.

It is easy to understand the enthusiasm of ornithologists. The subjects of their study are found among the grandest and most beautiful scenes of nature. They pursue their investigations, not bending over the desk or stifled by the fumes of a laboratory, but beneath the open heavens, along the sea, by the side of watercourses, through the valleys, over the hills. Their studies are prosecuted wherever the bird makes its home.

The facts to be observed are infinitely diversified and curious. Even as regards that which first strikes the attention, the singing of birds, few persons are aware of the surprising variety and harmony of their notes. Listen where you will in the country, and you immediately perceive that the air is full

---

* *Elementary Course of Natural History, being an Introduction to Zoology: intended for the College and the Parlour. Elements of Ornithology.* By Charles Brooks. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 324.

of voices, and — a fact which more loudly than human words proclaims the goodness of Providence — that the sounds you hear are all those of enjoyment. As we pause for a few minutes where we are now seated, the faint murmur of insects spreading their tiny wings makes us conscious of the general silence. A robin has paused for a moment on a dead branch to sing a snatch of music, and is now gone. From the neighbouring wood comes the pewit's note and the brown thrasher's song. Not long since, as it rose out of a neighbouring hollow in whose cool recesses the thick foliage makes a perpetual twilight, we caught the voice of the wood-thrush, now languid in the midday's heat, but which towards the close of day causes the woods to resound with strains shrill and musical as if the faint clash of distant cymbals were blended with the flute. On a fence some twenty rods in front a quail serenades its partner, who is doubtless seated on its nest just beyond. Sparrows, twittering as they fly, are flitting back and forth. A crow may be heard in the distance, warning its comrades against some intruding foot. Above our window, in a corner of the piazza, is a swallow's nest, which for some days past we have been watching. It has been the scene of events which would fill us with wonder, were it not (what is most wonderful of all) that they are so common. First, on a sunshiny morning, just returned from their winter wanderings, appeared the parent birds and carefully arranged the nest. Then five eggs appeared, followed by the tedious process of incubation. Then the children discovered five little birds pushing their heads over the protecting rim of the nest, while the older birds, unwearied, from morn till night have been darting back and forth, collecting out of the air food for their young.

But this is little compared with what nature sent forth to meet us as we rode last evening through the woods. In the alders by the pond, the fretful note of the catbird alternated with that rich song which might make it deserve the name of the New England mocking-bird. From the willow darted, in short and interrupted flights, still singing as it flew, the yellow-bird. On a branch which overhung a stream a kingfisher sat, its sharp, imperative voice heard as far as itself could be seen. Startled from its covert, a woodcock rose for a moment, and, flying in a right line, — thus giving the fowler an opportunity for his unerring aim, — plunged for refuge into the rich vegetation of the meadow. A flock of

waterfowl on the smooth waters made the sea seem alive, and then, rising and flying near the surface, left behind them long trailing lines of light; while in the midst of a swamp, on the topmost branch of a dead cedar, erect and motionless like a Swiss guard, a heron watched its nest in a neighbouring tree, to defend it against all hostile approach. As the sun sank nearer to the horizon, its level beams shooting through the thick foliage, glancing on bough and trunk, and making the shadows more distinct, the festive merriment of the woods began to cease. Stopping suddenly, sometimes in the midst of their song, like children tired of play, bird after bird dropped down through the shadows, each upon its branch or into its nest, and, while its song still lingered among the leaves, was asleep. And over that sleep of happy, joyous life, who so dead but must feel was watching that present Providence which never slumbers nor sleeps?

And these myriad songs which fill the summer air are all in harmony. There are no tones of discord in this great symphony of nature. Its fit accompaniment is the murmur of leaves and running brooks. Its sublime undertone is the faint chime of the distant sea, as its light waves melt away on the beach. As you listen to these melodies of the fields and woods, you feel that the poet drew from nature when he sang:—

"Sometimes, a-dropping from the sky,
I heard the sky-lark sing;
Sometimes all little birds that are,
How they seemed to fill the sea and air
With their sweet jargoning!

"And now 't was like all instruments,
Now like a lonely flute;
And now it is an angel's song,
Which makes the heavens be mute.

"It ceased. But still the sails made on
A pleasant noise till noon;
A noise as of a hidden brook
In the leafy month of June,
Which to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a quiet tune."

But this is only the beginning of what the ornithologist observes. The varied plumage of birds, their food, their

nests, their habits and organization, furnish an inexhaustible subject for study.

Like every other branch of natural science, ornithology furnishes numberless illustrations, in the adaptation of means to ends which it discloses in the formation of birds, of the existence and character of the Creator. At this point science and religion meet, and nature, as her highest lesson, proclaims a creating Providence. How wonderfully is the frame of the bird fashioned, that it may be prepared for its peculiar destiny! Its hollow bones, — the strength of muscle, — and bone and muscle so combined as to give such vigor to the wing, — the air-cells, in some cases extending over a large portion of the bird, and not only making it lighter, but aiding in preventing suffocation from its rapid motion through the air, — its light and warm plumage, and its superior vital heat, which enable it without harm to soar upward higher than the Andes, and to pass in a few minutes through all the climates of the globe from tropical heat to polar cold, — all fitting it to be a denizen of the air, are but so many evidences of creative wisdom.

It might seem, at first, as if the tribes whose home is the air might encroach on each other, that their supplies of food must be uncertain, and that, while the strong feasted, the weak would starve. But nature is both a wise and a generous mother. Those who trust to her need fear no famine. For each kind of bird she provides a different kind of food. This she stores and guards, and has ready for them when, in their migrations from south or north, they reach our coast. None are overlooked. Air, and water, and field, and fen have prepared a feast with which to welcome the new-comers.

The food of birds is of the most various description, requiring in each case a different kind of organization in order to secure it. Leave its instincts to the eagle and give it the feet and beak of the pheasant, and it must perish. In nature there are no such misalliances. The sensitive bill of the woodcock, with which it probes the soft soil, — the long, straight, angular bill of the woodpecker, terminating at the end in a sort of wedge, — the talons of the hawk, — the different structure of land and sea birds, are but examples of adaptations which are universal.

In order both to secure food and to avoid the dangers incident to rapid motion, it is necessary that the sight of birds should possess peculiar keenness. That which is necessary

to their welfare is found. While their smell is inferior to that of quadrupeds, they can see distinctly to almost incredible distances. The kite or the hawk, hanging in the air at a height which renders it nearly invisible, can see a mouse or a fish so clearly, that it is able to descend upon its victim with an infallible aim. Not the least wonderful part is the bird's power to see equally well, far and near. It can dilate its eye into a telescope, or contract it into a microscope. The eagle, which watches its prey at a mile's distance, sees equally well what is removed but a few inches. To protect an organ so sensitive and so exposed, it has a third eyelid, — a thin membrane, — which it can at will draw like a shade over the eye, and through which it can gaze at the most dazzling objects. It is not because its eye is of a firmer texture, but because its delicate mechanism is protected by this veil, that the eagle can soar into the sun.

Equally curious are the habits of birds, the various modes of building their nests, their social relations, and their journeys from region to region, led by an instinct which never errs. Much, however, as we are inclined, we will not dwell on these topics. We refer to them at all, only to show how rich in matters of interest is this branch of natural science.

It would be well, if, with other kindred branches, it were more often made a subject of study. We know no good reason why it should not be introduced as a part of the regular system of education in our higher schools. It would seem quite as desirable, and as profitable, for one to become acquainted with the wonders of the world in which he is to live, as with the wars and battles of savage tribes who disappeared from the earth ages ago.

Such a study, to one whose home is in the country, is like giving him an additional eye. That slight knowledge of the different departments of natural science which is within the reach of every man of ordinary intelligence who will give his leisure hours to a few good books, and who will cultivate observing habits, becomes a source of unending gratification. Nature, instead of being a blank to him, is covered with objects of interest. Every flower, and bird, and stone, has in it something to amuse and instruct. Others read descriptive poems at home. He sees the very things which the poet describes. The world is a great poem, from whose open page he is ever reading.

We need such studies, in order that we may have a great-

er love of the country. Our habits are gregarious. We herd together in towns. We live in the midst of feverish excitements. We talk of loving the country; but what does he care for nature who has no ideas suggested by looking on fields and woods but those which relate to the profit to be drawn from their products? It is that they who dwell in the country may enjoy the true privileges of their lot, that they may gain support for mind as well as body from the fields they till, and that the dwellers in cities may sometimes be drawn away from the unhealthy excitements amidst which they live, that we would encourage such studies.

All men need sometimes to be alone and to be quiet. It is good for one to open his eye and heart to the influences of the natural world. In the solitudes of nature, man's voice is silent only that Divine voices may be heard. There, if it is sometimes difficult to do good actions, it is difficult not to think good thoughts. What we think of is determined very much by what obtrudes itself on the senses. On the wharf, or the exchange, with the sights and sounds of business on every side, one's thoughts turn naturally into the channels in which flow the thoughts of all around him. In the country what one sees and hears suggests entirely different meditations. The universal harmony stills his fretted passions. All the objects which the eye rests on speak of infinite wisdom and providential care. The atmosphere which he breathes is as healthy for the soul as it is for the body. He goes out "at eventide to meditate"; and heaven and earth transfigured as their true glories are revealed, he returns feeling that he has been standing in the temple of the Most High.

> "Nature never did betray
> The heart that loved her; 't is her privilege,
> Through all the years of this our life, to lead
> From joy to joy; for she can so inform
> The mind that is within us, so impress
> With quietness and beauty, and so feed
> With lofty thoughts, that neither evil tongues,
> Rash judgments, nor the sneers of selfish men,
> Nor greetings where no kindness is, nor all
> The dreary intercourse of daily life,
> Shall e'er prevail against us, or disturb
> Our cheerful faith, that all which we behold
> Is full of blessings."

Had we room, we should be glad to quote the whole of Mr. Brooks's Preface. It sets forth clearly and powerfully the reasons for giving more attention to natural science. Especially does it present with much force the reasons which grow out of the spiritual relations and influences of such studies. The peculiarity of this work, as compared with some other works on the same subject, is, perhaps, the greater prominence which is given to the religious bearings of science. The author never loses sight of the harmony which pervades nature, and which unites the material and spiritual worlds; while, with him, the facts of physical science lead ever upward to spiritual truths. We quote a part of the striking passage with which the Preface ends, and with this will conclude our notice of the volume.

"In concluding this long Preface, let me repeat, that I have not written this volume to add new facts to our stock of ornithological science, but to convey useful information to the seeker after truth, and at the same time to indicate the path from the natural to the spiritual world. If I shall be so fortunate as to direct one young mind to see God, the spiritual basis of all outward realities, I shall feel myself repaid for all my labor. I will not disguise my increasing fear, that our countrymen may wish to separate science from religion, and thus run headlong into the wildest dreamings. To arrest any such tendency of our times is the high and solemn duty of every philosopher and Christian. It cannot be too often repeated, that nothing gives such palpable definiteness to true religion as the results of science. He indeed sees God, who looks through nature up to him. Every ray from the great luminary of science sheds light upon the neighbouring provinces of religion. . . . . Science is bound to God as firmly as the systems to their centre. Every particle of matter is governed by a fixed and immutable law; and this law originates in God, and is science to man. To separate the law from its source is to separate creation from its Creator, and to leave the universe an orphan. Gravitation says to every stellar system, to every rolling planet, and to every earthly atom, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy strength.' Thou shalt be bound to him by an irresistible attraction, thou shalt circle round his throne by a centre-seeking power, and shalt wait for him alone to change thy destiny. So every truth of science, circling the great universe, finds itself fastened at the footstool of Omnipotence. I devoutly hope that there may never be found in our country the mind that shall separate God and science; but if, among intellectual motions, some centrifugal tendency may

have propelled any original mind from the great central idea of God in science, may that mind soon discover its fatal mistake, and be convinced that it cannot find in the whole universe another perihelion; for we know that mind, like matter, moves in the direction of its impelling force, and if the first impulse be given to it at the wrong point, unless its momentum be resisted and overcome by some opposing power, it will move onward in the path of error, and drive along its downward way with accelerated velocity, aided by the gravity of accumulated error, till it finally passes and is lost in dreary space beyond the affinity of centripetal forces. Let us, then, rest in the conclusion, that true science is unchanging and immortal; that it grows out of the relations which God himself has created, and that it stands for ever as his own language, as his first revelation; and let us, moreover, rejoice that the grand and sacred text of Divine truth which it utters is written in characters which will stand as long as the stars. The time is rapidly coming, when the lightning will be so converted into a highway of thought among the nations, as to make truth electrify all lands at once. Then a millennium in science, civilization, and Christianity will dawn on our globe; and the angels may again descend and sing, 'Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good-will to men.'" — pp. 34, 35.

E. P.

Art. VI. — MORAL WRONG OF SLAVERY.*

As year rolls after year over the heads of the people of the United States, the finger of God seems to point with

* 1. *The American Churches, the Bulwarks of American Slavery.* By an American. Third American Edition, enlarged by an Appendix. Newburyport. 1842. 12mo. pp. 48.

2. *Domestic Slavery considered as a Scriptural Institution.* In a Correspondence between the Rev. Richard Fuller, of Beaufort, S. C., and the Rev. Francis Wayland, of Providence, R. I. Revised and corrected by the Authors. New York. 1845. 18mo. pp. 254.

3. *Slavery discussed in Occasional Essays, from* 1833 *to* 1846. By Leonard Bacon, Pastor of the First Church in New Haven. New York. 1846. 12mo. pp. 247.

4. *An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery.* By Albert Barnes. Philadelphia. 1846. 12mo. pp. 384.

5. *Christianity and Slavery: a Review of the Correspondence between Richard Fuller, D. D., of Beaufort, South Carolina, and Francis Wayland, D. D., of Providence, Rhode Island, on Domestic Slavery considered as a Scriptural Institution.* By William Hague. Boston. 1847. 12mo. pp. 254.

6. *A Letter to the Right Reverend L. Silliman Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina, occasioned by his late Ad-*

more and more directness to the great moral evil which has thus far been, and yet continues to be, cherished in their bosoms. Through the power of that infrangible chain of succession, the links of which, though seldom all made visible to imperfect mortal eyes, do yet unerringly bring round the ends of what some call destiny, it would appear as if the evasions and postponement, the prevarication and compromise, the sophistry and self-delusion, which have been long freely resorted to in America for the purpose of escaping a day of reckoning, were to accomplish only a frightful accumulation of troubles, without bringing the smallest relief from the necessity of ultimately meeting them face to face. The law of retribution is even now pressing severely upon us. It has already touched every nerve of the body politic with pain. The labor to throw inward a local disorder, rather than to probe it for entire extirpation in the spot to which it was at first confined, has been attended with the natural result of endangering the very existence of the whole system. And now, whatever may be the struggles of feeble man, however he may toil to resist the Providence which rules over him, that same power, which has already controlled the progress of events so far as we see them, is yet going on with accelerated steps most surely to work out its ulterior effects upon his happiness or misery. Man is, indeed, an active instrument only to incur a deeper responsibility for that which he shall choose to do. He may continue to delight in opiates to dull his moral sense, as he has hitherto done, or, roused at last to something like a conviction of his desperate condition, he may, with a bolder and more resolute purpose, rush to remedies, even though aware of their dangerous character; but he has no other choice. This is the sole alternative that his own apathy has left to him. Let him think of it well. However doubtful the question may be, when considered solely in its social and political aspects, it would seem as if there could be among persons professing the smallest regard for religion but one opinion as to the course which should be taken in the field of morals, and the monstrous responsibility resulting from a refusal to pursue it.

---

dress to the Convention of his Diocese. By a Protestant Episcopalian. Washington, D. C. 1847. 8vo. pp. 8.

7. *White Slavery in the Barbary States. A Lecture before the Boston Mercantile Library Association, Feb.* 17, 1847. By CHARLES SUMNER. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 60.

There cannot be a doubt that this responsibility is now most seriously felt. If we needed evidence, the list of publications which we furnish would supply it abundantly. Protestant Christians of all sects are agitating the subject of slavery and its bearing upon their duties, and those sects are the most deeply moved the members of which are most extensively scattered over the Union. No associated action can be had in which the topic will not be found to show itself. No plan of usefulness can be devised to which it does not present immediate obstacles. The evil demon is in the Church, and defies the exorcism of all the learned doctors. There is no longer an opening for retreat, even to those who most earnestly desire to escape the strife. Compromise has been exhausted. Silence is impossible. Slavery still persists in forcing itself upon the most unwilling eyes with the semblance of wrong. The only way now left of meeting this is the direct one of attempting to prove that it is not wrong, — that the appearance is illusive. Such is the state to which the question is now reduced. Such is the issue which has already been joined in the Baptist denomination through the controversy carried on between Dr. Wayland and Dr. Fuller, and which has presented itself in forms scarcely less direct among the Presbyterians, the Methodists, and indeed it may be said among all sects, — with the exception perhaps of the Friends, by whom it was long ago decided in the right way.

Is the holding of slaves an offence against right, — in other words, is it sin? Such is the question, and, because involving the moral welfare of human beings, it *must* be answered, Yes or No. It therefore becomes extremely important to ascertain on which side the answer should be given. For ourselves, we are not of those who seek to interpose the smallest delay in our decision. Albeit much less connected by community of sentiments with the people of the region in which slavery is tolerated than other sects, and therefore less called upon than they to dissent from views which impose upon us no responsibility, we plead guilty to general sympathy in all those questions which touch the welfare of the general brotherhood of man. Our line of duty is confined in this place to the moral considerations which grow out of slavery. We leave the social and political problems to be solved elsewhere. The treatment of these is not imperative upon us as Christians. The discussion of the re-

ligious question has become so. Little as we deem it proper in any portion of the Church hastily to intermeddle with the reformatory movements of the age; much as we value the position of calm retirement from the necessity of joining in the secular contests which often deeply stir the passions of men; we are nevertheless by no means insensible to the fact, that there may be occasions in which not to express a positive conviction of a lofty truth may be a dereliction of Christian duty, in comparison with which the hazards of controversial strife are as nothing. Even in the most worldly sense, the safety of every nation depends far more upon the standard of its moral and religious sensibility than upon the most carefully drawn safeguards of constitutional and legal forms. That standard is in the keeping of the Church. It is the Church alone which is pledged to teach exclusively by the absolute rule of right and wrong. This rule is expressly laid down in the sacred book given for its guidance. By that it must be directed, not only to a simple adherence to the letter which killeth, but to that higher and nobler and more catholic spirit which makes the Bible the true law of God, which breathes through its pages the hope of an improving futurity, which teaches in tones not to be misunderstood or misconstrued peace and good-will to man.

It is now generally and confidently charged upon the Church, whose duty has thus been pointed out, that it sustains slavery. This charge is predicated upon the assumption that slavery is wrong, or, in other words, sin. It no longer comes from the class of extreme Abolitionists, who are apt to think, that, because a person does not choose to move as rashly as they do, he is determined not to move at all. It is brought in terms by a divine no less distinguished in the Church than Mr. Barnes. In the volume the title of which is in the list at the head of this article, he has deliberately penned the following conclusion, the full import of which merits the deepest meditation on the part of every religious man.

"There is no power *out* of the Church that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in* it. Not a blow need be struck. Not an unkind word need be uttered. No man's motive need be impugned; no man's proper rights invaded. All that is needful is, for each Christian man, and for every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of such a solemn testimony; to free themselves from all connection with the evil, and

utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, AND THE WORK WILL BE DONE." — p. 384.

If this be a true statement, and we are inclined to believe it is not a whit exaggerated, the responsibility now weighing upon all those to whom it alludes is such as to make some sort of action in the premises on their part a positive duty. It will scarcely do longer to say that the evil of slavery does not affect us, and that giving our testimony against it in quarters remote from the region in which it is tolerated is likely to do more harm than good. It will not do to avert our eyes from the issue which is now distinctly presented to us by a part of the Church itself. Is the holding of slaves an offence against right? If we decide in the affirmative, then are we bound to do the very thing which Mr. Barnes has pointed out as releasing us from all further participation in the guilt. To stand still is impossible. For it must be obvious that to say that the Church sanctions and upholds wrong, knowing it to be such, is a charge most fatal to its usefulness. To say it justly is to seal the condemnation of its ministers.

The common reproach brought against all those who have felt constrained to bear public witness against the evils of slavery has been, that they are fanatics, actuated by zeal without knowledge. This reproach, which to a certain extent has been heretofore felt to be just, when uttered by slaveholders against the early agitators of the subject, ceases to carry force with it when it appears that its application is indiscriminately extended to all individuals who venture a remonstrance upon the subject, no matter how guarded it may be, or in how gentle a tone delivered. The fanaticism is held to consist in the connection of the thing with any religious or moral scruple whatever, in the refusal to consider it as a mere political institution involving no uncomfortable appeal to the conscience at all. We can readily conceive the reason why it should be so. It proceeds from an intimate conviction of the truth spoken by Mr. Barnes, that the vitality of slavery is to be found in the Church, and nowhere else. If it could once be proved to the satisfaction of the hundreds and thousands of Christian men and Christian women who may be found thickly spread over the region of the Slaveholding States, that they are guilty of a moral wrong in continuing to hold human beings in a state of bondage one hour longer than they can release themselves from it, we are well convinced that no human power would be

strong enough further to put off the day of emancipation. The reality of this truth shines out in every page of the letters of Dr. Fuller. He has, with a courage and ability worthy of a better cause, thrown himself into the breach, and made himself the casuist to quiet the uneasy consciences of his brethren of the South. He has done the only thing which he could do, without confessing his own unworthiness. He has denied slavery to be a sin, or a wrong. He has maintained that it is favored of God, and not displeasing in the eyes of Jesus Christ. The Church is, then, right in holding its ægis before the institution, and protecting it against the advancing spirit of the age. The marriage of the Church with slavery is, then, clear, justifiable, irrevocable; and the conclusion of Dr. Fuller is, "Whom God hath joined, let man not put asunder."

Such is the point in the controversy at which we have now arrived. The Christian Church of the Slaveholding States almost with one voice declares to us that there is no moral wrong in slavery. In this it has now assumed a position very far beyond any thing which was ventured earlier than the year 1818. Before then, it was customary in most of the sects to admit the wrong, and to urge the adoption of measures for its ultimate removal. Now it is no longer a wrong; hence there is no barrier, so far as the Church is concerned, to its perpetuation. We find, among other instances in the pamphlet, understood to be from the pen of Mr. Birney, the title of which stands first in our list, the following official attestations to this truth.

"THE GEORGIA ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

"Resolved *unanimously* that: —

"'Whereas there is a clause in the discipline of our church, which states that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of *slavery;* and whereas the said clause has been *perverted* by some, and used in such a manner as to produce the impression that the Methodist Episcopal Church believed *slavery* to be a *moral evil,*'

"Therefore, resolved, —

"'That it is the sense of the Georgia Annual Conference, that slavery, as it exists in the United States, *is not a moral evil.*'

"Resolved, —

"'That we view *slavery* as a civil and domestic institution, and one with which, as ministers of Christ, we have nothing to do, further than to ameliorate the condition of the slave, by en-

deavouring to impart to him and his master the benign influences of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven.'

"On the motion, it was resolved unanimously,—

"'That the Georgia Annual Conference regard with feelings of profound respect and approbation the dignified course pursued *by our several superintendents* or bishops *in suppressing* the attempts that have been made by various individuals to get up and protract an excitement in the churches and country on the subject of *abolitionism*.'

"Resolved, further,—

"'That they shall have our cordial and zealous support in sustaining them in the ground they have taken.'

"SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE.

"The Rev. W. Martin introduced resolutions similar to those of the Georgia Conference.

"The Rev. W. Capers, D. D., after expressing his conviction that 'the sentiment of the resolutions was universally held, not only by the ministers of that Conference, but of the whole South'; and after stating that the only true doctrine was, 'it belongs to Cæsar, and not to the Church,' offered the following as a substitute:—

"'Whereas we hold that the subject of slavery in these United States is not one proper for the action of the Church, but is exclusively appropriate to the civil authorities,'

"Therefore, resolved,—

"'That this Conference will not intermeddle with it, farther than to express our regret that it has ever been introduced, in any form, into any one of the judicatures of the Church.

"'Brother Martin accepted the substitute.

"'Brother Betts asked, whether the substitute was intended *as implying that slavery, as it exists among us, was not a moral evil? He understood it as equivalent to such a declaration.*

"'Brother Capers explained, *that his intention was to convey that sentiment fully and unequivocally;* and that he had chosen the form of the substitute for the purpose, *not only of reproving some wrong-doings at the North*, but with reference also to the General Conference. If slavery were a *moral evil* (that is, *sinful*), *the Church would be bound to take cognizance of it;* but our affirmation is, that it is not a matter for *her* jurisdiction, but is exclusively appropriate to *the civil government*, and *of course not sinful.*

"'The substitute was then unanimously adopted.'"—pp. 14–16.

"The Rev. J. H. Thornwell, at a public meeting held in South Carolina, supported the following resolutions:—

"'That slavery as it exists in the South is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion; and that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold.

"'That all interference with this subject by fanatics is a violation of our civil and social rights, — is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed; and that the instigators are murderers and assassins.

"'That any interference with this subject, on the part of Congress, must lead to a dissolution of the Union.'" — p. 17.

"THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

"In 1835. The Charleston Baptist Association addressed a memorial to the legislature of South Carolina, which contains the following: —

"'The undersigned would further represent, that the said association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the fact of slavery a question of morals at all. The Divine Author of our holy religion, in particular, found slavery a part of the existing institutions of society; with which, if not sinful, it was not his design to *intermeddle*, but to leave them entirely to the control of men. Adopting this, therefore, as one of the allowed arrangements of society, he made it the province of his religion only to prescribe the reciprocal duties of the relation. The question, it is believed, is purely one of political economy. It amounts, in effect, to this, — *Whether the operatives of a country shall be bought and sold, and themselves become property, as in this State; or whether they shall be hirelings, and their labor only become property, as in some other States.* In other words, whether an employer may buy the whole time of laborers at once, of those who have a right to dispose of it, with a permanent relation of protection and care over them; or whether he shall be restricted to buy it in certain portions only, subject to their control, and with no such permanent relation of care and protection. *The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves has been distinctly recognized by the Creator of all things*, who is surely at liberty to vest the right of property over any object in whomsoever he pleases. That the lawful possessor should retain this right at will is no more against the laws of society and good morals, than that he should retain the personal endowments with which his Creator has blessed him, or the money and lands inherited from his ancestors or acquired by his industry. And neither society, nor individuals, have any more authority to demand a relinquishment, without an equivalent, in the one case, than in the other.'" — p. 26.

"HARMONY PRESBYTERY OF SOUTH CAROLINA:

"'Whereas sundry persons in Scotland and England, and others in the north, east, and west of our country, have denounced slavery as obnoxious to the laws of God, some of whom have presented before the General Assembly of our Church, and the Congress of the nation, memorials and petitions, with the avowed object of bringing into disgrace slaveholders, and abolishing the relation of master and slave: — And whereas, from the said proceedings, and the statements, reasonings, and circumstances connected therewith, it is most manifest that those persons "know not what they say nor whereof they affirm," and with this ignorance discover a spirit of self-righteousness and exclusive sanctity,' etc.

"Therefore, 1. Resolved, —

"'That, as the kingdom of our Lord is not of this world, his Church as such has no right to abolish, alter, or affect any institution or ordinance of men, political or civil,' etc.

"2. Resolved: — 'That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slaveholders and patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (who are now in the kingdom of heaven), to the time when the apostle Paul sent a runaway home to his master, Philemon, and wrote a Christian and fraternal letter to this slaveholder, which we find still stands in the canon of the Scriptures, — and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the Apostle, and does now exist.'

"3. Resolved: — 'That, as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the Scriptures, in the same manner as those of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God; and whosoever has a conscience too tender to recognize this relation as lawful is "righteous over much," is "wise above what is written," and has submitted his neck to the yoke of men, sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men.'

"CHARLESTON UNION PRESBYTERY:

"'It is a principle which meets the views of this body, that slavery, as it exists among us, is a political institution, with which ecclesiastical judicatories have not the smallest right to interfere; and in relation to which any such interference, especially at the present momentous crisis, would be *morally wrong*, and fraught with the most dangerous and pernicious consequences. The sentiments which *we* maintain, *in common with Christians at the South of every denomination*, are sentiments which so fully approve themselves to our consciences, are so identified with our

solemn convictions of duty, that we should maintain them under any circumstances.'

"Resolved, —

"'That, in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, *so far from being a* SIN *in the sight of God*, is nowhere condemned in his holy word, — that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts, of patriarchs, apostles, and prophets, — and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge; and that, therefore, they who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion, that all slaveholding is wrong, proceed upon false principles.'" — pp. 34, 35.

Such, then, is the position of the Church in one half of the United States. It maintains the rightfulness of slavery. And if this can be fully proved, then, indeed, does it redeem itself from all blame in giving to the system a firm and steady support, such as no civil institutions can supply. But there is another class of persons in the Church who are considered by many as having hitherto yielded quite as great a share of support to slavery as any, by their refusal to take note of it at all; and this class the assumption of extreme ground by their brethren of the South is not calculated to relieve. They are of the number who looked coldly upon the noble efforts of the lamented Channing, and who frowned upon the early attempts to rouse the people of America from their lethargy as the offspring of incendiary fanaticism. In this course they have been unquestionably conscientious. The cry had been sedulously raised by individuals holding high positions in the community, though in no way connected with the Church, that the people of the free portion of America had nothing whatever to do with the question, and that the mere agitation of it would be productive of nothing but social disorganization; and by it the clergy, with rare exceptions, were persuaded into an honest belief that silence was a duty. The moral aspects of slavery, its pestiferous tendency over public opinion, not merely in the region to which it was itself confined, but far and wide over the Union, and its inevitable advance with accumulating force upon the future, were considerations not deemed sufficient to overcome the objections to active interference. A disposition to open the matter for discussion was esteemed worthy of no encouragement, and scarcely of toleration. This was a state of

things than which the upholders of slavery could wish nothing more propitious to the maintenance of their system. It was the brazen wall of religious conservatism erected around their institution, equally impervious to the inroad of truth and to the escape of error. It was the stern protection of things exactly as they are, for impinging upon which the Saviour was condemned to the cross, and the assault upon which has from that day down to this been attempted by the reformer always at the hazard of his peace, and often of every thing deemed valuable in this world. How long it might have lasted as a defence against the most bitter attacks, if it had been left to itself, it is difficult to decide. We believe it would have been strong enough to resist the moral pressure from Europe, including all the fulminations from the papal chair, had it not been for the aggressive and violent temper manifested by the owners of slaves in the defence of their own interests. This has led them to the assumption of extreme positions, which has roused many who might otherwise have remained indifferent. It has tempted them to the introduction of new measures in the civil policy of the country, and it has carried them to the position in the Church that slavery is right. Such a course leaves no room for a condition of neutrality. The clergy have at last opened their eyes to the truth, that, one way or the other, action is demanded of them. If indeed it be true, what the Church of the South says, that the Bible sanctions and Christ permits slavery, then are they bound to show it, that they may release themselves from all suspicion of upholding wrong. If, on the other hand, it be not true, then are they still more bound to disown any sympathy with a defence which involves a perversion of the principles of the faith.

The effort of Dr. Fuller, who may now be regarded as the great champion of the Southern Church, appears to be to confine the consideration of the question of slavery as exclusively as possible to the abuse of the social relation; in other words, to regard it as a mere political institution, by which it is obvious that the Church both North and South would be relieved from the necessity of taking cognizance of it. But in order to do this, the hard task has been laid upon him of proving that a system productive of countless evils to a large part of the human race, and violating many Christian

ideas of moral obligation, is not offensive in the sight of God. His syllogism is as follows: —

"1. Whatever the holy God has expressly sanctioned among any people cannot be in itself a sin.

"2. God did expressly sanction slavery among the Hebrews.

"3. Therefore slavery cannot be in itself a sin."

Dr. Fuller seeks not to be wise above what is written. He rejects all appeals to the moral sense. He contemns, as the vanity of worldly and irreligious men, every standard of judgment excepting the written word of God. He seeks not to discuss any question of right and wrong, but, planting himself boldly upon authority, he at once pushes his opponents into the alternative of disputing the validity of the Scriptures, or of conceding to him the advantage of their support. He would force them either to deny that the Bible is the word of God, or, if conceding that point, to assume that God can sanction sin. For himself, he seeks to express no opinion of his own. It is enough for him to point to the letter of the law of the Hebrews, and then emphatically to declare that "what God sanctioned in the Old Testament, and permitted in the New, cannot be sin."

But the first question which this strong way of stating the proposition presents to us is, why so marked a difference should be perceptible in the degree of approbation claimed for slavery in the two parts of the sacred volume. If slavery be not a sin, and therefore receive the express sanction of God in the Old Testament, why should it have become in the New only permissible, the express sanction being tacitly withdrawn by Jesus Christ? The unavoidable and imperative implication is that of progress and improvement in the moral law, between the period of the Hebrew dispensation and that of the Saviour. "For the law was given by Moses," says the Evangelist, "but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." But if it be once conceded, — and we can imagine no one so hardy as to deny it, — that a more perfect rule of action was furnished to man in the latter than in the former case, by which sundry offences were counted sinful by the Christian which were not so counted by the Jewish law, then one of two consequences must result. If the act prohibited was sinful, then we are driven to the necessity of inferring that God has sometimes sanctioned sin; if, on the other hand, the act was made to be sin by his decree at one time, which was made not to be sin

by his decree before that time, then we must infer that there is such a thing in the Divine system as progress for the world, and hence that the mere fact of its pleasing the Deity, for his wise purposes, to tolerate an evil for a time is by no means to be made to justify its perpetuation by the will of man for ever after. Dr. Fuller may take either horn of the dilemma at his pleasure. The first would destroy his emphatic statement; the second overthrows the major proposition of his formidable syllogism.

Let us now go one step farther in the examination of this same major proposition. "Whatever the holy God has expressly sanctioned among any people cannot be in itself a sin." We are told in the Old Testament that the Lord directed Moses to avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites. Moses thereupon armed twelve thousand of the men of the twelve tribes, and they warred against the Midianites, and "slew all the males," and took all the women captives and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle and all their flocks and all their goods. Now are we to infer at this day, that, because the Lord directed Moses to avenge the children of Israel in this manner in the early days of the world, it would be no sin in the people of the United States to proceed in like manner, and slay all the three or four millions of males their enemies in Mexico, and take all the women captive and their little ones, and the spoil of all their cattle and all their flocks and all their goods?

But not content with the severity of this vengeance, Moses became wroth with the officers of the host, because they ventured to save all the women alive. He therefore ordered them to make up for the omission by massacring every male among the little ones and every woman that had known man. But the "women children that had not known a man" he ordered to be spared as the spoils of victory. His commands were obeyed. The females thus saved from slaughter amounted in number to thirty-two thousand. One half of them, or sixteen thousand, less thirty-two reserved to pay the Lord's tribute, were given up to the warriors of the expedition; the other half were given to the people at large. They were slaves taken in war. And all this the Lord sanctioned by his order to Moses.

Now are we in this nineteenth century of the Christian era to be told, that, because God, doubtless for wise purposes and as a severe chastisement, once sanctioned among the

Jews a series of acts like these, therefore it is now and must ever be considered among the human race as no sin to make war against our neighbours by massacring all the male children and married females, and to set apart the unmarried remainder as the prey, one half of them of a licentious soldiery, and the other half of the community at large? Has the world grown thousands of years older without the introduction of a milder law among men than this, — without the softening influence of a code of love?

It will be said at once in reply, that this better law is to be found in the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus. But this answer immediately concedes the fact, that a higher and better system than the Jewish one has been shown to man, by following the spirit of which he is enabled to advance in the career of improvement, instead of blindly adhering to a dead and obsolete letter. It concedes the fact, that, although the Deity may, for his own best designs, have established a system for the Jews which sanctioned what we now consider sin, he does nevertheless introduce a change by the later law making that sin which before was not sin, and to that extent points out movement in a better direction as the spirit of his government. But if this be true in any one instance, are we to suppose that he designed such movement to stop there, — that he did not intend that any application whatever should be made of the new law beyond the precise limit of the literal injunctions of the Saviour? Was the social system for ever to remain in the same state of corruption in which it existed in the world at the period of his advent, saving and excepting in those particulars in which he specified a distinct prohibition of offences then committed? Such a construction may indeed be the true one, but if it be, then has the progress of the world far outrun the teachings of Christianity; and we are all, including the learned divine himself, daily guilty of being wise above what is written.

Take it as we may, the argument of Dr. Fuller is neither more nor less than an endeavour to shelter wrong-doing under the authority of God. The evidence to sustain him reduces itself to the acknowledged fact, that the Deity permits the existence of evil. In reading the ancient record of the Jews, we observe many acts there stated to have been done by his direction, which our later law, as well as our moral sense, teaches us to be irreconcilable with right. But are we for this reason to fly at once to the hypothesis of Dr. Ful-

ler, to drown our faculty of moral judgment, and deliberately to declare that no act can be sinful which God has ever at any time sanctioned; and hence are we to insist that such acts are justifiable now, because they were justified once? We think not. We prefer to retain the exercise of our own reason, and, without seeking to invalidate or even to explain the testimony upon which the argument has been based, to believe, that, although God may tolerate wrong-doing for a time, it is only for the purpose of ultimately making it more fully subserve the development of the right. We see that wrongs of all sorts now abound, and among them none is more flagrant than the tyranny which one human being is permitted to exercise over the body and mind of his equal, utterly against his will. To maintain that this wrong shall continue for ever to be called right, unless there be a direct revelation of God's will specifying it to be sin, and this solely because it is found to have been practised in the infancy of the world under a law confessedly imperfect, is equivalent to tying down the moral and religious nature of the race, and to visiting in a literal manner the sins of the fathers upon their children down very far beyond the third and fourth generation.

Let us now proceed to the great position of the Southern Church as taken by its champion. Slavery is not necessarily sinful. Its origin may have been in sin. The consequences to which it often leads may be sinful. Yet, taken by itself, the holding of slaves cannot be regarded as sinful, if there be no wrong done by the owner to the slave beyond the violation of his personal freedom. We believe we state the case fully and fairly. Dr. Fuller abandons the beginning and the end of slavery as untenable, but he thinks, with these sacrifices, that he can keep a firm hold upon the middle. Let us now see how much his concessions will avail him.

The question for consideration is, whether the holding of slaves be or be not an offence against right, in other words, sin. In order fully to judge of this, it becomes absolutely necessary to consider the earlier question, what it was that made men slaves. If the cause was in itself a just cause, then is the mere continuation of the tenure no sin. But if, on the other hand, that cause was in itself a great wrong, then will it appear that the continuation of the tenure is nothing less than an aggravation of the wrong. Here it is that Dr. Fuller seems to have suffered his ideas of moral justice

to become confounded with those which spring out of the law of society and the tenure of property. He supposes that it is only necessary for him to throw off the crime of the slave-trade upon English or New England merchants of a century since, and to plead a sort of moral statute of limitations, in order to be perfectly released from all further responsibility for the existence of slavery. This may do for property under the municipal law; it will never do in the court of conscience. Dr. Fuller's great-grandfather might have occupied an estate belonging to another man until forty years' uninterrupted possession had given him the legal right to exclude that man from his own, but the moral law must still pronounce Dr. Fuller's great-grandfather to have violated the eighth commandment. And the descent of that property through three generations would make no difference in the wrong, because the right was all the time vested in three generations of another family. It is true that the municipal law, which is absolute in mere cases of property, and creates the right, steps in for the sake of preventing the great evil of perpetual litigations, and declares that the neglect of the injured party to claim that right shall after a certain time bar him from recovering it. But the municipal law can do no more than to regulate the material interests of men. It cannot make injustice just. It cannot change the boundaries of sin. And if this be true of such inanimate objects as lands and hereditaments, how much more true does it become, when applied to new and increasing and perfectly innocent generations of living men who are the victims of a perpetuated act of successful wrong! What will Dr. Fuller's statute of limitations avail him, when pleaded before the bar of God?

Theoretically, slavery may be traced to three causes. Practically, in this age of the world it has had but one. It may spring out of the relation of parent and child, or out of the voluntary consent of the enslaved party, or, lastly, from the application of physical force. The first and second of these causes may be supposed consistent with a state of peace. The last can only grow out of a state of enmity and war. Of the three, it is obvious that none but the last can be deemed likely to produce results important enough to be estimated in the history of nations. Whatever may be our theory of right and wrong, nature has implanted in the human breast the most effectual checks to any serious

derangement of the moral system of the universe from these causes. Even the hardships imposed by the unnatural laws of Rome upon the condition of children found their remedy in the love and affection of the parents. So in the other case, the innate love of liberty is too strong in the bosoms of most men often to prompt a ready or extensive submission of themselves to the unrestricted will of their own kind. Voluntary relations, in government even of a despotic kind, almost invariably suppose some obligations of mutual dependence at variance with the true idea of slavery. It is the third of the enumerated causes which alone accounts for its existence at the present day. Slavery is the law of physical force exerted in war, which spares the life of an enemy only to make him and his posterity subject in every way to the conqueror's will.

We believe that the pretension of a *right* to make human beings slaves, who have been subdued in war, has pretty much vanished before the march of Christian civilization. If it be well grounded, then is the theory upon which the government of the United States is founded unsound, and there is no such thing to protect the persons of whites (as well as blacks) as an inalienable right. We are all of us subject to be taken at any moment by a vigilant and cunning enemy, and carried into captivity without having the smallest right of just reclamation. We have been wrong in pretending that the exercise of this practice was just cause of war with the Barbary powers. We have been wrong in rejoicing, as Mr. Sumner shows in his lecture that we did, when a surrender of the last remnant of this power was dictated to the authorities of Algiers and Tunis and Tripoli at the cannon's mouth. We have been wrong in supposing that we hold our liberties on any other terms than our own ability by arms to protect ourselves. Our government is a solemn mistake. Our religion is a grievous error. The philosophy of Hobbes is the true one, after all, which supposes mankind a fighting race, and absolute power to belong as of right to him who fights best. There is no such thing in nature as the law of love; and the injunction of Christ, to "do good to them that hate you and pray for them which despitefully use you," is only designed to secure the perpetual and unresisting obedience of the slave.

We trust that it is not necessary to pursue this argument farther. The spread of the gospel of peace has humanized

even war. It is no longer deemed justifiable among Christian nations to make slaves of those taken in battle, even though Moses did so by command of the Lord in the case of the Midianites. It would be deemed sinful to order in cold blood the massacre of the married women and children in a hostile nation, even though such acts appear to be sanctioned in the Old Testament, and are not expressly prohibited in the New. The spirit of Christ's teaching has breathed over the world the breath of a new life on subjects of this kind. It has spread a law of peace and good-will to man, which has already done much to restrain the mere animal propensity to warfare, and which bids fair in time to do a great deal more. War is already considered as a high crime, if it have not the strongest justifying circumstances to uphold it. And when declared, it is carried on with a great variety of palliating contrivances to soften its dreadful effects upon the persons and property of individuals. We admit that much remains even yet to be done, as well to make the breaking out of wars more difficult, as the conduct of them less distressing; but we are happy to feel that the movement of the world is all in the right direction. And it is Christianity which is doing this, not by the force of express injunction, but by its softening and improving influence, marking as in letters of living light the progress made since the days of massacre and slavery among the Midianites.

The origin of slavery is war. That of African slavery is unjust war. It is the law of brute force stimulated by the hopes of gain, and it is nothing else. It is pure and unmitigated crime, and no human reasoning can make it otherwise. In this connection it is wholly immaterial who they were that first transported Africans to America, — whether they were citizens of the mother country, or of the Eastern colonies, or of the Southern provinces. Neither will it justify the proceeding to know that from the first it found earnest defenders in the bosom of the holy Church. A defence of the slave-trade is now abandoned even in the argument of Dr. Fuller. The captives taken in war were bought in Africa, were brought to America, and transferred to the hands of the planters, by force. *That force was sin.* Neither is there any difference, as Dr. Fuller seems to imagine, between the act of one party in receiving and of the other in obtaining the wrongful property. From his language it might be inferred that he regarded the

planters as doing a work of mercy in purchasing the human beings thus brought to them against their own will, for the sake of continuing over them and their posterity the wrongful authority gained by force. It is no such thing. The moral as well as the civil code decrees, that, in cases of stolen goods, the receiver stands on the same platform with the thief. The force originally applied to make a slave was sin, and every act done from that time, either to the captive himself or to his children and grandchildren or his remotest posterity, tending to continue that force, partakes of the wrong first committed, and is therefore sin. There is not a day nor an hour in which a slave-owner, let him do what he may in extenuation of the offence committed to the beings whom he holds by the law of force, does not by the very act of continuing a wrongful ownership violate those paramount laws of the Christian faith, "Love thy neighbour as thyself"; "Do unto others as thou wouldst that others should do unto thee."

The root of the system being bitter and corrupt, it is impossible that the tree should bring forth any other than bitter fruits. Hence the labor which has been spent in the Slaveholding States to cover it up from the sight of the conscientious. Hence the zeal to set aside all discussion of the origin of slavery as irrelevant, which has earned for the Church the distinction Mr. Barnes awards it. There is no remedy for wrong but right. The attempt to meet the difficulty, by urging single examples of masters, who so completely abdicate the exercise of their wrongful power as to make the condition of slavery almost nominal, is futile. Just so far as a master does this, just so far does he cease to be a master. That is all. Were the practice universal, the sin attaching to a wrongful holding might indeed disappear, but with it would unquestionably very soon disappear the institution itself. It is the wrong done to the slave which gives him a value to his owner. The abnegation of the will to exercise it in the various ways in which it is possible so to do would work deliverance to the captive without delay.

Herein seems to consist the grievous fallacy of the argument of Dr. Fuller. He insists upon it that we shall not consider as necessarily connected with slavery the sinful consequences without which slavery would no longer be what it is. He demands that we should concede to be

mere excrescences what experience proves to be vital parts. For example, Dr. Fuller is by no means prepared to dispute either the fact that marriage, and every other social relation, are constantly set at naught by slavery, or the other fact that such setting at naught is sin. He only assumes that these facts are not essential to the question in dispute, inasmuch as slavery may be supposed to exist without them. He can imagine cases in which such relations are uniformly respected. All others come therefore within the category of violations of right, and must be classed as offences against the moral law. This is specious reasoning, but it seems to us nothing more. Slavery derives its only force from the law of the land. That law, in establishing it, confers certain powers upon the owner, the exercise of which embraces some of the most valuable incidents to the institution. To say that it is sin to exercise those powers is equivalent to affirming that slavery dictates a municipal law which authorizes men to sin. Is not this an essential element in the sinfulness of slavery? Let us take, for example, the right to sell a human being. This is a right of the master to transfer him into the hands of a stranger when he chooses, and without the smallest regard to the domestic circumstances in which he may be placed. This right takes no note of moral restraints, because it is predicated upon the supposition that a slave stands in no other relation to his master than the horse or the cow on his plantation. Abolish, remove, or qualify the exercise of this right by law, or bring to bear upon it the restraint which the Church can apply by an appeal to conscience, and to a corresponding extent the support of the institution will be weakened. Once attach the serf to the soil according to the old European or the present Russian law, and slavery will assume a new aspect advancing far towards emancipation. The measure would paralyze slavery in a large number of States in which it is now tolerated. Virginia, for example, in ceasing to be able to derive a large income as a negro-raising State, would lose its strongest motive for continuing the evil at all within its borders. The six thousand slaves, which a friendly hand stated in the pages of the American Quarterly Review, so early as in 1832, as the number then annually sent to foreign markets, would no longer present six thousand lawful occasions for committing an undeniable wrong.

Just so is it with the entire code of laws framed for the

express purpose of perpetuating the relation of slavery, by prohibiting the use of every method to instruct or to improve the slave. Here it must be admitted that Dr. Fuller feels himself to be treading difficult ground. He readily confesses that the laws inculcate a barbarous system, at war with good morals. And he pleads in extenuation, that most of the objectionable laws are obsolete, and many of them are disregarded. Indeed, he goes so far, unmindful of the bearing of his confession upon the remainder of his position, as to declare in so many words, that he, a minister of the Gospel, knowingly and wilfully violates at least once a week a statute of his State of South Carolina, and that "most industriously." Now there can be but a single valid excuse for this open transgression by him of a law of society. It must be because he thinks it violates a higher law of duty to God and to his fellow-man. But if he once begin in this path, we should like to ask where he is to stop. The law of slavery has no higher sanction than that which he so "industriously" violates. It is the offspring of the will of man justifying the holding of his fellow-man in bondage by force. Supposing that Dr. Fuller's slave, exercising the same degree of conscience with his master, should deem the law of society which makes him a slave against his consent to be a transgression of a higher law of duty to God, and should therefore proceed to violate it "most industriously" by seeking to recover by force his freedom to act as a responsible, independent being, would Dr. Fuller be willing to admit that his slave and he in their respective constructions stood upon the same platform of innocence towards the law of society? Yet the slave is under no moral obligation to submit to conditions imposed upon him in a state of duress. The master, on the other hand, when he feels the law which puts power in his hands to be too sinful for him to be willing to obey it, places himself in the position either of an example to his slave, if he violate it, or of knowingly persisting in the sanction of sin, if he do not earnestly set about the work of procuring a lawful repeal.

We are aware of the argument which will meet us here. The blame of the sinful laws will be laid at the door of the Abolitionists. It will be said, as Dr. Fuller himself says, that the efforts to abrogate the laws complained of have been defeated by the lamentable and cruel system of agitation persisted in at the North. Honest and conscientious

men, both South and North, have allowed themselves to go to sleep in the honest belief that there is some ground for this justification of doing nothing. There is no foundation whatever, as we conceive, for the pretence. The laws complained of are the natural and legitimate consequence of an effort to counteract the tendency of free institutions. They are the inevitable result of the determination to uphold a wrongful property. To teach men their rights as Christians and as men, and to expect them at the same time not to endeavour to claim their restitution, is a mockery. The practical sense of the slaveholder has taught him that the only way to perpetuate his authority, which is the law of force, is to destroy the sense of oppression by brutalizing the mind. It may, in the judgment of such minds as that of Dr. Fuller, furnish a reply, to say that the incendiary publications of Northern Abolitionists must prevent all voluntary retreat from these bad measures; but there never has been any evidence furnished of the smallest inclination to retreat, excepting in a few instances, which may be directly traced to the influence of the very agitation complained of. So far is it from being true that the condition of the slave has in general been unfavorably affected by the efforts of Northern and English Abolitionists in his favor, that this very work of Dr. Fuller bears on almost every page evidence of the necessity he feels himself to be under, of abandoning all the positions to which they have best succeeded in drawing the attention of the civilized world. Most especially is it true of the efforts to advance the religious improvement of the slave, which, after sleeping for a time, have been renewed since the sinfulness of neglecting it has been most warmly pressed upon the attention of the Church.

We cannot, then, agree with the Southern apologist in maintaining that the sin of slavery can be separated from that of its concomitants. The one is the root, and the others are the branches. The one is the foundation, and the others form the superstructure. Beginning with the position now universally admitted to be sound among civilized, Christian men, that the right of war does *not* carry with it the right to inflict perpetual slavery upon captives taken in war, and their posterity, the consequence is irresistible, that the tenure by which men are held in America, having no other ultimate origin than this, is wrongful. The determination to uphold and continue by force this wrongful authority renders necessary a

systematic attempt to deprive the oppressed beings of all possibility of feeling or resenting their degradation. Hence originate the barbarous and sinful laws commonly designated as the slave-code, to which Dr. Fuller himself is ashamed to allude in any other tone than one of condemnation. The incidental privilege of sale and transfer from hand to hand makes the marriage relation a mockery, and the substitution of the will of the master for the free judgment of the slave annuls the moral accountability of the latter. These are direct, immediate, necessary evils, inseparable from slavery as it exists in the United States. They constitute one class, whilst the usual but not essential ones of indiscriminate licentiousness, of cruelty and hard-heartedness, of violence and bloodshed, constitute another. This latter class we do not propose to dilate upon in this connection, because we agree with Dr. Fuller that they do not *necessarily* belong to the institution, and, wherever they are committed, they must go into the category of deliberate sins. The others are enough to stamp sin upon slavery in itself. No kindness, no amount of paternal care, no practice of moral and religious instruction, can do more than palliate it. It is *the very holding* that is wrongful. It is the assumption of an authority which draws its only justification from the successful exercise of physical force, an exercise which is now universally conceded to be wrongful in every instance in which it may be applied to innocent white persons, and which therefore cannot be made otherwise than wrongful, no matter what may be the color of the human skin. The only way to remedy the wrong is to put an end to it. The only way to repent of the sin is to commit it no longer. The Church of the Slaveholding States may indeed, if it please, gloss it over; it may even go so far as to sanction, as it has in some cases done, the practice of polygamy among the slaves, as a consequence of the separation of man and wife by the sale of either; but the inevitable consequence is, that it establishes no permanent conviction of its correctness at home, and it degrades itself everywhere else. No calm and impartial eye can glance for an instant at the records of the resolutions and other acts of professed religious bodies in the South on the subject of slavery, without confessing at once that the evil has to a very considerable extent vitiated the judgment of the Church.

What, then, is the duty of all those persons in the United States who feel the character of the Christian religion to be

deeply compromised by the use thus attempted to be made of it? Is it not to express their dissent in some positive and decided manner? As Mr. Barnes very justly remarks, there is no need of violence, or of assailing the motives of a single human being. "Not an unkind word need be uttered." But there is need of a strong, sincere, and earnest disavowal of all connection between slavery and the Church of Christ. There is need of adhering steadily to the position, that in morals and religion there is no statute of limitations to protect wrong. That law of succession to which we alluded in the commencement of this article, by which evil invariably reproduces evil, has burdened our fellow-citizens in a large portion of this Union with a curse that only grows heavier in its blighting influence as time goes on. Its origin lies in the temptation of the dealer who brought and offered to the planter a stolen property. The latter bought what he had no moral or civil right to buy, a free human being, from one who had no moral or civil right to sell him. In making this unlawful purchase, he took upon his conscience a wrong from which thousands of new wrongs have sprung up, and will continue to spring up among the generations of his latest posterity. The determination to persevere in that wrong leads to the adoption of a variety of measures to defend it, all of which partake more or less of the character of the original wrong. It goes on to poison the source of law and the fountains of religion. It substitutes sophistry for truth, and force for reason. It pervades the inmost recess of the household, it twines itself around the legislation of the senate-house, and stretches up to the very altar of God. Everywhere rises to Heaven the wilful cry of man determined to uphold his own injustice. He impiously declares that from his act he will not, cannot retreat, and, rather than do so, he argues for God's own authority as sanctioning the wrong. The Church proclaims that God overlooks the tearing of Africans from their families and their homes by force in order to permit the perpetual subjection of their race to the dominion of a few of their fellow-men, and that he will yet subject to a state of moral accountability in a future world persons whose deprivation of a power over their own will, and even of a right knowledge how to exercise it, he solemnly approves. We know not what others may think of such reasoning, in this age, in defence of the Christian faith, but this we will say, — that, if Jesus Christ had taught no more sublime

morality, there would have been no cause for surprise that infidels and scoffers should abound.

In conclusion, we must insist, that, whatever may be the notions of the Southern Church, the duty of Christians who live out of the influence of slavery is clear. It is not to denounce the sinner, but to expose the sin. It is not to deal harshly or impatiently with brethren who act up to the light which they have had given to them, but to make no compromises with sophistry. However delightful it may be for Christian brethren to dwell together in unity, it is obvious that no such harmony is intended as is the offspring of concession to sin. There are times when the truth must be sustained and the right contended for at the hazard of discord, and perhaps of earnest contention. The mission of Christ was peace, but it was only to be attained by wading through ages of hostile persecution, and even of torture and of blood. In this matter we agree with Mr. Hague, in his very acute little work, that the doctrine of Dr. Wayland, in many respects good and sound, is too conciliatory. It leaves to be inferred a much stronger case on the part of his opponent than he seems to us to have made out. By giving up on one hand the origin, and on the other the consequences of slavery, and by also avoiding to argue in behalf of its perpetuity, we are of opinion that Dr. Fuller conceded every thing essential to the controversy. He was allowed to argue upon an hypothesis that slavery might by possibility at some undescribed moment be other than what we see it. Dr. Wayland should have insisted that it could by no possibility be any thing materially different from what it is, and not cease to be slavery. A wrong can never be otherwise than wrong. The moment it changes its nature, it becomes right. The religious man who emancipates a slave may possibly doubt whether he is doing the best thing for the slave, measured by the law of this world. He ought not to doubt for a moment that he is doing the best thing for himself, measured by the law of eternity. C. F. A.

ART. VII. — THE LATE REV. THOMAS GRAY, D. D.*

THE life of Dr. Gray extended beyond the allotted term, connected him with a generation that has gone, and enabled him to be a witness to the present of the things that have been. In his youth and early manhood he was contemporary with many, within and without the walks of his profession, who by their gifts and services have won for themselves an honored name, but whom we for the most part can know only in their history. Of such he loved to speak; and with the kindness of heart which was a part of his nature, he never failed to do justice to their virtues. Preëminent among them was that "famous divine," Dr. Chauncy, — justly so designated in the discourse before us, — by whom he was baptized in his infancy, and whose characteristic plainness of speech, so different from his own, was to Dr. Gray a subject of wonder, while his rare theological attainments were the frequent theme of his praise. With him, in those halcyon days of ministers in Boston, when diversities of opinion, expressed or fully understood, were held in the spirit of the most cordial fellowship, were united Colman and the Coopers, father and son, Mayhew and the Eliots, Belknap and Clarke, Everett and Howe (whose youth gave rich promise which early death disappointed), Howard and Lathrop, who had each, either by genius or learning, by professional distinction or the works they have left behind them, and all by personal virtues, a claim to the remembrance of posterity. It was the practice in those days, somewhat beyond the present, to commemorate departed ministers. The six of the brethren who bore the pall at the funeral — such being the invariable usage — were expected to utter the eulogy on as many successive Sundays. This was not without its evil, as it tempted to profuse, not to say indiscriminate, praise of the dead, and sometimes made a larger demand upon the assent or the sympathies of the bereaved congregation than was reasonable or profitable. But it was also the occasion of many just and eloquent

* "*Gathered to his People.*" *A Sermon preached in the Congregational Church on Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, Saturday, June 5th, 1847, at the Funeral of Rev. Thomas Gray, D. D.* By N. L. FROTHINGHAM, Minister of the First Church in Boston. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 16.

tributes to the eminent or excellent of their day; and, as we write, we have before us a large selection of such discourses, gathered by a careful hand into many volumes, in which the characters of the individuals we have named are ably portrayed; and in the first of which we find, in the hand-writing of the collector, than whom no one either in life or in death was more honored or cherished, the following words: — "Being once acquainted either with the subjects of these funeral discourses or the preachers of them, I have found a satisfaction in perusing, and now in gathering them, which I have sometimes failed to find in more finished productions. Some of them, however, have great merit as compositions; and all of them have to me their peculiar interest, by recalling to my remembrance the respected images of those who have served their generation faithfully, and whose memories have been precious to their people and to their friends."

The sermon at the funeral of Dr. Gray claims a high place among discourses of this class, and more than justifies the choice which the lamented subject of it many years before his death made of his friend, Dr. Frothingham, to perform this service. Besides the peculiar attractions of style and the richness of sentiment which we have learned to expect from this source, it portrays with the most skilful and discriminating hand, with a rare union of truthfulness and kindness, the traits of the deceased, and presents a highly interesting view of his personal and professional history. It is seldom that a more just or faithful portraiture is delineated; and were all eulogies of the dead uttered in like wisdom and fidelity, the pulpit in mourning and the funeral orator would be regarded with more confidence than the too customary exaggerations sometimes allow.

We quote the following paragraph, as exhibiting the leading features in the character of Dr. Gray; and if, with the fidelity we find so much reason to commend, the preacher adverts to an undeniable foible, it is impossible not to admire the skilful gentleness with which it is described as "the least unamiable of the weaknesses into which good men may fall"; or to forget how it was united with a benevolence of heart, which prompted continually to the kindest deeds, and in instances not a few, as we can testify, has left its grateful impression on the memories of his brethren and friends.*

* Dr. Gray's release from the constant duties of his ministry while asso-

"The chief merit of Dr. Gray as a public man lay in the faithful and affectionate oversight that he took of the charge that was here committed to him. As a preacher he was agreeable and often effective. His voice was full and clear, and he was not unstudious of those graces of expression that suitably adorn a discourse. He brought to his pulpit the best fruit of his meditations. His discourses were always of a practical character. He did not love to run upon points of controversy. He entered into few disquisitions upon speculative truth. Towards those who differed from him in doctrine he was always inclined to be candid and liberal, but his attention was not turned much upon differences. His great object was to impress the minds of his hearers, in the kind way that was the only one he knew, with the sense of their daily obligations. He wished to keep them Christian believers, and to infuse into their belief more and more of its temper of love and mutual consideration. But it was as a pastor that his influence was the most conspicuous. He loved this place and all who belonged to it. He made himself closely acquainted with the members of his congregation, the youngest and the oldest. He was always ready with his friendly word, with his counsel and his consolation. He exerted himself to restore harmony, if it had been anywhere interrupted, and, wherever he went, carried with him a cordial disposition and the wish to serve. He had the wisdom of counsel with him also, and his advice was always worth the considering. He was cautious of giving offence, both from prudence and charity. It was in this way, I think, that he succeeded in maintaining among his people a remarkable degree of unanimity. He held them together in a prosperous condition, with a good understanding towards each other, and a considerate attachment to him. He thus rendered a great blessing, my brothers and friends of this society, to your fathers and to you, and to the institution of the Gospel on this pleasant spot. It was the blessing of continued numbers and agreeing sentiments; — a blessing quite as great, it appears to me, as is brought to pass by larger displays of talent, that sometimes make a religious society wholly dependent on the transient admiration that they inspire, and sometimes break it up into parties and ruins by the obstinacy of a heated opinion. He was affable and social and of a lively temper, and knew how to be sportive without violating the proprieties of his years and station. He loved so well to praise, that he might have been thought to shape his speech too much

---

ciated with his colleagues, and his subsequent entire resignation of his charge, afforded him opportunities, as long as health permitted, of efficient aid to his clerical brethren, which he was always ready to bestow; and in their sicknesses or their absence many and substantial have been the services which he has thus most kindly rendered.

towards the desire of pleasing. But I could never find that this disposition of his was demeaned by any insincerity. He could be as free in expressing his disapprobation as he was in his applause. He spoke as he felt. And if his tendency was to refrain when there was occasion for reproof, and to make himself amends for that silence where there was an opportunity to commend, that is certainly to be numbered among the least unamiable of the weaknesses into which good men may fall." — pp. 12, 13.

A life like Dr. Gray's could not have been eventful, and its leading passages are easily exhibited. He was born in Boston, on the 16th of March, 1772; and was prepared for college in part under the care of Rev. Dr. Shute of Hingham. Having been graduated with the honors of the University in 1790, he remained for a year at Cambridge as a resident graduate and student in divinity. He spent another year in preparing for the ministry "under the direction of the celebrated Baptist preacher, Dr. Stillman." "At the expiration of this term," says his eulogist, "he presented himself to the Boston Association of Congregational Ministers, that he might be furnished with their approval to preach as a candidate for the Christian ministry"; which "approval, or license, was voted"; it being "the first instance of any such vote in that body, and it indicated an increased attention to the qualifications required for the office of a Christian pastor." After preaching with marked success and approbation in other places, some of which were anxious to appropriate his labors, he received the unanimous call of the church at Jamaica Plain to become their pastor; and here he was ordained on Wednesday, the 27th of March, 1793. Among the members of the Council who assisted on that occasion, "I find," says Dr. Frothingham, "the names of Eckley and Morse, of Porter and Bradford; showing how far the churches were, at that time, from being divided by the controversies that afterwards shook them so violently." A few months after his ordination, Mr. Gray was married to the youngest daughter of Rev. Dr. Stillman, a lady of great worth, distinguished especially by her firmness of character and soundness of judgment, and whose death seventeen years before his own was his first heavy affliction. Having sustained the labors of his ministry alone for more than forty years, and believing that the period had come "when a preacher ceases to be interesting, at least to the younger portion of his audience," he sought the aid of a

colleague, and his son-in-law, Rev. George Whitney, who had been ordained over the Second Parish of Roxbury, was installed in that relation, February 10, 1836. In this union he saw accomplished one of the fondest wishes of his heart. But "the bright prospect" with which it opened "was suddenly overcast. Six years of service" — and it was earnest and faithful service — "were all that Mr. Whitney was permitted to accomplish. In the best exercise of his maturest powers he was taken away, beloved and bewailed." Dr. Gray resumed the whole pastoral charge for a season, but soon found that its cares exceeded his strength; and when, in 1843, a new colleague, Rev. Joseph H. Allen, was appointed, he wholly resigned his ministry, and became a fellow-worshipper with the people to whom for more than fifty years he had been the teacher. From this time his voice was seldom heard in the pulpit, but his interest in his flock was unabated; he still walked among them as "the Shepherd of the Plain," sharing with all his wonted sympathy in their joys and griefs, until infirmities pressed heavily upon him, and "after several days of extreme exhaustion, though with perfect serenity, and retaining still an interest in passing events, and enjoying the affectionate recognition of surrounding friends," he expired, June 1, 1847, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and the fifty-fifth since his settlement in Roxbury.

Dr. Gray was one of the small remnant of that class of ministers, — once the prevailing class in New England, — who dwelt all the long years of their professional life among the people who chose them in their youth, and were therefore to them the people of their choice. He was one "who ne'er had changed, nor wished to change, his place." It probably never entered into his thoughts to become the shepherd of any other flock. With the tendencies and practices of the present time, this class, we fear, is in danger of perpetual diminution, and the community likely to incur the loss of those healthful influences which the experience of our fathers and the history of our churches have connected with a long, if it be only a faithful, ministry. That there are advantages from change we do not deny. That a congregation may be benefited by new modes of exhibiting familiar truth, and by the fresh zeal that comes with youth and novelty, will not be questioned. But the brief ministries and frequent changes to which our churches have been

subjected have not, we are persuaded, conduced to their permanent welfare; but must eventually lead to an increased estimation of those gifts and qualities, those faithful and enduring labors, which can be fully exhibited only in the course of a lengthened ministry, and by those who, like our departed friend, devote the freshness of their youth, the strength of their manhood, and the ripened experience of advancing years, to the service of one people. F. P.

Art. VIII.—PRESCOTT'S CONQUEST OF PERU.*

At the conclusion of the Preface to this work the author makes the following statement, which will be read with the liveliest emotions of interest by all who have been instructed and gratified by his writings, and be regarded as presenting one of the most remarkable and wonderful instances in the history of literature or the experience of life, of the triumphs of talent and resolution over apparently insurmountable obstacles.

"Before closing these remarks, I may be permitted to add a few of a personal nature. In several foreign notices of my writings, the author has been said to be blind; and more than once I have had the credit of having lost my sight in the composition of my first history. When I have met with such erroneous accounts, I have hastened to correct them. But the present occasion affords me the best means of doing so; and I am the more desirous of this, as I fear some of my own remarks, in the Prefaces to my former histories, have led to the mistake.

"While at the University, I received an injury in one of my eyes, which deprived me of the sight of it. The other, soon after, was attacked by inflammation so severely, that, for some time, I lost the sight of that also; and though it was subsequently restored, the organ was so much disordered as to remain permanently debilitated, while twice in my life, since, I have been deprived of the use of it for all purposes of reading and writing, for

---

* *History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas.* By William H. Prescott, Corresponding Member of the French Institute; of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1847. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 527, 547.

several years together. It was during one of these periods that I received from Madrid the materials for the 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' and in my disabled condition, with my Transatlantic treasures lying around me, I was like one pining from hunger in the midst of abundance. In this state, I resolved to make the ear, if possible, do the work of the eye. I procured the services of a secretary, who read to me the various authorities; and in time I became so far familiar with the sounds of the different foreign languages (to some of which, indeed, I had been previously accustomed by a residence abroad), that I could comprehend his reading without much difficulty. As the reader proceeded, I dictated copious notes; and, when these had swelled to a considerable amount, they were read to me repeatedly, till I had mastered their contents sufficiently for the purposes of composition. The same notes furnished an easy means of reference to sustain the text.

"Still another difficulty occurred, in the mechanical labor of writing, which I found a severe trial to the eye. This was remedied by means of a writing-case, such as is used by the blind, which enabled me to commit my thoughts to paper without the aid of sight, serving me equally well in the dark as in the light. The characters thus formed made a near approach to hieroglyphics; but my secretary became expert in the art of deciphering, and a fair copy — with a liberal allowance for unavoidable blunders — was transcribed for the use of the printer. I have described the process with more minuteness, as some curiosity has been repeatedly expressed in reference to my *modus operandi* under my privations, and the knowledge of it may be of some assistance to others in similar circumstances.

"Though I was encouraged by the sensible progress of my work, it was necessarily slow. But in time the tendency to inflammation diminished, and the strength of the eye was confirmed more and more. It was at length so far restored, that I could read for several hours of the day, though my labors in this way necessarily terminated with the daylight. Nor could I ever dispense with the services of a secretary, or with the writing-case; for, contrary to the usual experience, I have found writing a severer trial to the eye than reading, — a remark, however, which does not apply to the reading of manuscript; and to enable myself, therefore, to revise my composition more carefully, I caused a copy of the 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella' to be printed for my own inspection, before it was sent to the press for publication. Such as I have described was the improved state of my health during the preparation of the 'Conquest of Mexico'; and, satisfied with being raised so nearly to a level with the rest of my species, I scarcely envied the superior good

fortune of those who could prolong their studies into the evening, and the later hours of the night.

"But a change has again taken place during the last two years. The sight of my eye has become gradually dimmed, while the sensibility of the nerve has been so far increased, that for several weeks of the last year I have not opened a volume, and through the whole time I have not had the use of it, on an average, for more than an hour a day. Nor can I cheer myself with the delusive expectation, that, impaired as the organ has become, from having been tasked, probably, beyond its strength, it can ever renew its youth, or be of much service to me hereafter in my literary researches."—pp. xv.–xix.

No comment is needed to render affecting and instructive the example here presented. Happy would it be for themselves and for the world, if all young men of intellect and education, of leisure and fortune, would seek for the highest satisfactions of which their natures are capable in that path where Mr. Prescott, struggling against so many difficulties and deprivations, has found them! The selection of some suitable field of investigation, the devotion of the faculties to some intellectual pursuit, and the literary composition and exhibition of the matured results of research and the successive developments of an opening and expanding subject, is in truth one of the choicest luxuries and noblest entertainments within the reach of humanity. While thus engaged, every clog and every care fall from the spirit, "time and the hours" glide smoothly and joyously by, the soul feels its higher nature, breathes the pure air of truth, and experiences a divine energy as it disperses darkness and scatters light along its way.

The prosperity flowing over our country, and leading, in frequent instances, to the accumulation of great fortunes in the hands of individuals, is multiplying the number of those who come into life without feeling the spur of necessity to force them to industrious occupations, and whose days are passed in ease and independence. Pleasure, fashion, and sensual luxury seduce a large proportion of this class of persons into their deceptive and destructive snares. Much of the best and brightest intellect of the world is thus thrown away. May we not indulge the hope, that the brilliant success, which has crowned with the purest happiness and the brightest fame the devotion by Mr. Prescott of his leisure and fortune to intellectual pursuits and literary engagements,

will attract others, possessed of his privileges and without his disadvantages, like him to seek and to find their happiness in the walks of literature, taste, and knowledge?

Mr. Prescott's world-wide reputation as an author suggests many gratifying and important reflections. It has a national bearing and value. By far the larger part of the literary productions and intellectual energies of our day are developed in forms which are lost to the view of a general observer. The vastly increased number of those who participate in the honors of authorship, and contribute their productions to the public through the press, renders it difficult for particular writers to acquire conspicuous distinction. When a multitude is before us, we cannot easily take note of individuals. He, whose form and mien would have commanded our admiration when passing before us over a solitary stage, fails to arrest our observation when mixed with thousands; the tree whose stately dimensions and spreading branches would fill the vision, if towering with an unbroken outline above the surface of an open plain, is reduced to a common level, and entirely lost to sight, in the depths of a wide forest. As civilization advances, the intellectual resources of nations are drawn into immediate action and expression. In our own country especially is this the case. The rapid movement of society, the constant excitement of outward life, the pressure of the times upon each individual, and the ever-changing, ever-recurring occasions that demand the interposition of personal agency to influence the condition of opinion and the current of affairs, tend to call out the talent and wisdom of men in immediate and continuous expression. Minds of lively apprehension and real power find it difficult to resist the inducements attracting them into the daily bustle and struggle of life, to turn away from the earnest and stirring multitude, to withdraw or withhold themselves from the engrossing excitements of the passing world, and, in solitary and self-imposed confinement, to persevere in long-protracted mental labors, or the patient preparation of profound and comprehensive works. The political and literary periodical press, — the demand for brief and special performances, in the shape of addresses and discourses at the innumerable meetings of institutions and associations, academical, historical, philanthropic, and miscellaneous, — debates in the State and national assemblies, — and all the efforts of intellect required in conducting the multiplex

and mighty machinery of popular government, and internal improvements of every kind, — these, in their aggregate action, we may well suppose, drain off and expend, from hour to hour, the intellectual resources of a people.

Taking this view of modern society, particularly in our own country, we had for some time been reconciling ourselves to the conclusion, that but few, if any, works of signal and classical preëminence were to be expected among us, and that foreign prejudice and ill-will would have to be indulged in uttering the sneering interrogations, — Who reads an American book? Where are your epic poets, your philosophers, your historians? And we were getting to be quite satisfied with the answer we had prepared to the uncourteous reproach. In an improved social and political state, we were ready to say, a greater proportion of the intellect of a country will naturally be expended in action than in study, in the external relations and scenes of life than in the seclusion of libraries. The inspiring attractions of a scene of humanity, evoking, sustaining, and rewarding by visible results, the immediate efforts of talent and genius, is most favorable to the development of the mental energies of all the members of the community. If the intellectual resources of a country are thus drawn out and directed in bearing forward the whole moving fabric of society, it must be allowed that a great point is gained. We need not repine, complain, or be mortified, if the ability and brilliancy, which, if applied to the solitary labors of composition, would have been adequate to the production of the highest specimens of literature, have full scope, and exercise worthy of their strength and brightness, in the immediate and ever-arising occasions of a vigorous, enlightened, and elevated condition of life and society. In these favored times, all governments aspiring to be included within the sphere of civilization make it the cardinal point of their administration to develop, to as high a degree as possible, the physical, intellectual, and moral resources of their people. This is especially the case with us; and in the grateful satisfaction with which we witness the success of this policy in applications of science to the increase of social privileges and personal happiness, — in the vigorous advancement of professional and popular education, — in the arena of political action, — in the incessant and all-reaching machinery of the press, eliciting thought and truth from every nook and corner, and diffusing light to the utmost borders of the land, — and

in the philanthropic movements of the day, we were quite content with the conclusion, that the entire intellectual resources of the country are, in these ways, so nearly exhausted, that we are not to expect any such works as were produced in other ages and states of society.

The appearance of Mr. Prescott's Histories, after we had become habituated to these considerations, has given rise to emotions of pleasure and gratification deeper and livelier because unexpected. He has selected a department of literature of acknowledged dignity and interest, and the works he has already given to the public are, by universal admission, of classical and durable elegance and value. The History of Ferdinand and Isabella, although not included in the circle within which he has achieved an undisputed preëminence, naturally led the way to it. As a chapter of the most romantic interest in the annals of the Old World, not before adequately written, his attention was turned to it. It was found to put the thread into his hands which conducted him to the colonization of the New World, and the fate of the principal nations of its aboriginal inhabitants. As the prows which first reached our shores were launched and piloted from Spain, so the historian, adequately to portray the aspect America presented when it was disclosed to the view and brought under the sway of Europe, could not have approached his subject successfully in any other way than by acquiring a familiar acquaintance with the Castilian literature, character, and history. Advancing from this point, thus qualified and prepared, Mr. Prescott has narrated the conquests of Mexico and Peru, and their subjugation to the Spanish crown, in a style of elegance, and with an elaborate accuracy and completeness, which give to his works an authority that, we are quite sure, will never be superseded.

Pointing to the monuments of his enlightened labors and cultivated taste, in a department of literature which, from the most venerable antiquity through all ages, has been regarded as worthy of the best faculties of the most gifted minds, and of which the value and interest will probably be more and more appreciated, as the experience of mankind, of which it is the record, is widened and deepened, with a just pride we claim his honors as the property of America.

We are inclined to think that Mr. Prescott's Histories, especially those that relate to America, have secured a more lasting and unrivalled position in the estimation of coming

times than any literary works of our day. In England, on the Continent, and in our own country, there are undoubtedly many who have written with as much, if not more, eloquence and learning, and whose works display more brilliant and more various genius; but there have been combined, in his case, a singular felicity in the subjects, an excellence of taste, a carefulness and amplitude of preparation, and a soundness of judgment, which give a steady and perpetual value to his works.

We have already said that Mr. Prescott's success has a national bearing and importance. We may well regard with satisfaction any influence which tends to elevate the estimation in which our country is held by other nations. Without taking into account at all the gratification which our patriotism and national pride may experience, and merely glancing, as we pass, at the benefits, in the aggregate not inconsiderable, which individuals either travelling or having dealings in foreign lands derive from the credit and respectability of their country, we would look from a still higher point of view. It is not as Americans, but as philanthropists, that we rejoice in every thing that turns in this direction the favorable notice of enlightened persons in other parts of the world. Every sentiment of our moral nature, which is awakened by any of the forms of missionary or philanthropic effort, engages us to pray for the extension throughout the world of the *peaceful* influence of America. With all the faults and follies that may be charged upon us, it is for the redemption of mankind from political bondage, to have their eyes fixed upon this confederated republic. No government, in its actual administration, ought to be expected to present a better aspect than the average character of its people; and as the most advanced portion of mankind are as yet passing through only the earliest stages of Christian civilization, we are not surprised at wrong measures being adopted by our rulers, or disheartened because unrighteous laws, usages, and relations still subsist among us. We believe that the brightest achievements and noblest triumphs of education, humanity, and religion remain to be won, even where the most has already been accomplished.

Our system, combining the freest exercise of popular sovereignty with the strongest securities of constitutional law, and demonstrating, in the indefinite extent to which it is carrying the experiment of a federal government, the prac-

ticability of the great idea, upon which the anxious hopes of the friends of universal peace depend, of a congress of nations or states, is as yet scarcely at all appreciated abroad, and quite inadequately by our politicians at home, often too heated by party to take broad and philosophical views. Every circumstance that turns the thoughts of commanding minds in other countries favorably towards this will serve to extend and circulate such just conceptions of the great truths on which the Union rests, as will secure their beneficial influence everywhere. For obvious reasons, those interested in monarchical and feudal institutions have long been banded in a too successful design to render the name of republican America odious, and to spread hatred and contempt for it through the Old World. Whatever tends to displace this unfriendly sentiment, and to render our country respectable and agreeable in the contemplation of foreign minds, must be regarded as a public and general benefit. Among the specifications relied upon to diminish the influence and keep down the credit of our country, was the affirmation that intellect and genius withered among us, — that barbarian rudeness threatened to engulf whatever refinement we had borrowed from the polished nations of Europe, — that mere sordid lucre was the engrossing and debasing pursuit of all minds, — that the higher forms of art and literature would never be revealed in America, — and that the only aspect in which intellectual culture of any kind could receive honor, or even exist among us, would be such branches of science as may be made to minister to physical wants, to practical convenience, or to the accumulation of wealth. In some departments of the fine arts our reputation has long since been vindicated, and the works of Mr. Prescott have met with a reception throughout the world which silences the reproachful imputation against republican institutions and a position on this side of the Atlantic, as incompatible with the attainment of the highest success in the walks of literature.

If the limits of an article and the claims of other topics permitted, we should be pleased to indicate, more particularly than we have done, the considerations by which we have been led to suppose that Mr. Prescott has secured a wider and more lasting celebrity than many other American scholars and writers, whose works exhibit at least equal talent and learning. In general it may be said of his subjects, that, besides covering most curious, picturesque, and momentous

tracts of the world's great history, they are beyond the circle of his own immediate nationality, and lift him above all possible imputation or suspicion of prejudice or interested bias. They are subjects, too, which a citizen of this Union is better qualified than any other to treat. We know that some of the best works on our own country, like De Tocqueville's for instance, have been the productions of enlightened foreigners. We might, we think, point to portions of the history of other nations, besides those occupied by our author, which may be best treated by American research and liberality. The story of the rise and triumph of Puritanism can never be told in all its truth and greatness, until some suitable intellect, imbued with American sentiments and trained in republican associations, concentrates its faculties upon the thorough exploration of the era of the English Commonwealth, and sheds upon its scenes and characters the radiance of the most enlightened and liberal principles.

Mr. Prescott has had the rare wisdom to preserve his writings from the taint of political dogmatism, and to keep them free from every form and shape of philosophical theory and speculation, which, however attractive to some, cannot fail to limit the reception and endanger the final credit of any works upon which they leave their marks. Happy has it been for him, that, in forming his style upon the lasting models of English undefiled, he has escaped the infection of all whimsical peculiarities and fashionable transcendental phases of expression, — constituting a sort of flash language, which from its very nature can have only a transitory and very brief currency, giving rapidity of sailing, for a time, to literary craft, but sure to sink them before long to the bottom! The History of the Conquest of Peru exhibits, we think, a better combination of the elements of both accuracy and richness of diction than his former works. But so free has he always been from faults of language and conception, that perhaps many others would not agree with us in noticing any improvement. In the Preface to the Conquest of Peru he says, — "I must not omit to mention my obligations to my friend, Charles Folsom, Esq., the learned librarian of the Boston Athenæum; whose minute acquaintance with the grammatical structure and the true idiom of our English tongue has enabled me to correct many inaccuracies into which I had fallen in the composition both of this and of my former works." None but a critical and searching reader would be

likely to notice the "inaccuracies" of which Mr. Prescott speaks with such ingenuous modesty. But as our vocation, in the view we take of it, requires us to point out for correction or warning the faults we may succeed in detecting, especially in writers whom we commend, we would mention that in a pretty careful exploration of Mr. Prescott's last two works, for the purpose of finding food for criticism, we have been able to glean but little. A familiar phrase, expressive and convenient in common conversation, but, as we have thought, beneath the dignity of the historical style, may perhaps be detected in one or two instances; but such instances are very rare. Any other "inaccuracies" than a few of this description we confess that we have not had sufficient acumen to discover. The improvement we have imagined ourselves to have noticed is not so much in the structure as in the substance of the sentences. In the Conquest of Peru the author has seemed to us to have reached a still happier mean than before in the use of ornamental imagery and rhetorical embellishments.

The value of Mr. Prescott's works is much heightened by frequent illustrative and corroborative notes. They are written with a concise simplicity and elegant ease of expression, which introduce upon almost every page an agreeable variation from the more elaborate and stately flow of the text. He has displayed his usual judgment in the distribution of matter in the text and in the notes respectively. Some topics are appropriately reserved for more lengthened discussion in a general appendix; but at the conclusion of each branch or division of his narrative, he has interspersed throughout the volumes notices of all the principal original authorities, which are severally executed with great beauty and skill, constitute a collection of literary criticism and biography of inestimable richness, and give to the works in which they are inserted a peculiar charm and value, over and above what they possess as histories.

The events and characters delineated in the Conquest of Peru are somewhat similar to those of the Conquest of Mexico in the kind, and we think fully equal in the degree, of interest. The Pizarros and their associates are finely drawn; but the leading actor, the most remarkable personage brought upon the stage, is Pedro de la Gasca, the ecclesiastic. Indeed, we are inclined to place him in the very highest rank among all the great names connected with the transference of

America to European sovereignty and civilization. After the vast and opulent regions, which in the aggregate constituted the viceroyalty of Peru, had been brought under Spanish control, Gonzalo Pizarro conducted a successful revolt against the authority of the mother country, as represented in the person of Blasco Nuñez Vela, who was defeated and slain in battle. Gonzalo became lord of Peru, and his government was as independent, in fact, of the mother country as the present government of the United States is of Great Britain. The Spanish court was astounded and perplexed when these events became known. The time required to communicate with the western coast of South America, — the length, dangers, and difficulties of the voyage, in the then existing state of navigation, — the embarrassments, exposures, and perils to which European troops would be subjected, on first reaching the country, from ignorance of its coasts, geography, climate, and internal relations, from the want of provisions and other necessaries, and from the power of the triumphant insurgents, denying them a foothold, and, aided by the swarming and subject native population, repelling them from every landing-place, — all these things were then getting to be so well appreciated, owing to the frequent failure and not infrequent destruction of expeditions of conquest, that the Spanish ministry could scarcely see its way to the recovery of Peru. Pizarro had possession of every vessel afloat in the Pacific, which gave him a naval force sufficient to overpower any fleet that could be passed around the Cape of Storms. It may be confidently said, that, had it not been for the wisdom and virtue of one man, and the policy which the sagacity of his government authorized him to pursue, Gonzalo Pizarro would have founded an independent empire in South America three hundred years ago.

The course Gasca adopted was, to guaranty to Peru a complete security against all the grievances of which it had complained, and to redress which it had revolted and overthrown the viceroyalty; to grant and confirm every privilege which had been demanded; and to bury the remembrance of all preceding events under an unconditional amnesty. He repaired to Panamá, and, despatching these assurances before him, slowly advanced, doing nothing rashly, and leaving full time for sober consideration to work out its legitimate results. Gradually those results became ap-

parent; commanders of ships, of citadels, of districts, of provinces, one after another, came back to their allegiance, escaping from the perils of rebellion, and rejoicing to recover the grateful protection of the mother country. Steadily and rapidly the power of Pizarro melted away. Gasca offered to him and all his adherents, to the last, full pardon. Many, from time to time, availed themselves of it. And at length, when the two armies drew nigh, the entire force of Gonzalo Pizarro deserted his standard, and he, with others who had persisted with him in an implacable and desperate course, were consigned to the executioner.

If a similar policy had been pursued by the British government, under the administration of a representative as wise and magnanimous as Gasca, the American Revolution would have been intercepted; the cession to the Colonies of all they demanded would have secured, from that hour, the prevalence of liberal principles throughout the British dominions; and the Anglo-Saxon race — the will of the people being thus made the law of the government — would have advanced towards the highest civilization, freedom, and glory, in one united empire, spanning the Atlantic and spreading over both hemispheres. The chapter in the history of Peru to which we are now referring may well be studied by the inhabitants of colonies and by the governments that hold them. The lesson it teaches will be vindicated by all experience. The only way to retain colonies is to recognize the rights they assert, and, so far as they demand to govern themselves, to allow them to do it. Benefits, to be drawn from them by the mother country, can be satisfactorily and permanently obtained only through the medium of their good-will. Spain recovered Peru by redressing its grievances and yielding to its demands. Great Britain lost her American colonies by adhering to restrictions upon their trade which from the beginning had been the occasion of remonstrance, alienation, and resistance. If the latter power wishes to preserve the dependencies she now possesses, or which she may hereafter acquire by colonization or conquest, she must keep before her, for warning, her own policy as it resulted in the American Revolution, and, for imitation, that of Spain so admirably displayed in the recovery of her Peruvian empire.

In the Preface to his last work, Mr. Prescott intimates that he has in contemplation "a new and more extensive field of historical labor." We have no knowledge whatever,

and have formed no conjecture, as to the particular subjects in his view. But in reading his works, we have experienced a desire to have him turn his attention to an inquiry which has long engaged our own interest. His studies and labors have singularly fitted, and we have hoped that his train of reading and research would incline, him to investigate it. After having elaborated into permanent historical forms the introduction of European conquest and civilization upon the American continents, may he not attempt to penetrate one step beyond, and ascertain whether a solid foothold can be reached in a region which has heretofore been regarded as beyond the bounds of human knowledge? Clouds and darkness rest over the derivation of the aboriginal races of America. Something may be accomplished by philosophical research, by the comparison of customs and usages, and by the exploration and interpretation of monuments. If any thing be possible in this direction, it is more within Mr. Prescott's reach, we are inclined to think, than that of any other writer. He has greater access to the journals, reports, and descriptions of the very first voyagers and adventurers to America, and is more familiar with what must be considered the original evidence on the subject, than any other individual among us. If history can retrieve to her dominion any thing from this vast unknown, the achievement would be worthy of the highest ambition. It would be the discovery of a new continent in the world of human knowledge.

The laws of all sound reasoning and philosophy corroborate the doctrine of the Scripture and of the Church, in referring the whole race of mankind to a single source. The American nations may be safely assumed to have had an Asiatic origin. The inhabitants of the islands intermediate to the continents of America and Asia can be shown, by as much proof as may reasonably be expected, to have been derived from the latter. The same language is spoken, according to the late learned and venerable Peter S. Du Ponceau, by certain tribes dwelling in corresponding latitudes of North America and Asia. Boulders and other vestiges scattered over the surface of our continent indicate a deluge as having overwhelmed the country, rushing from north to south; so languages, monuments, and traditions favor the idea of the progress of population, in successive stages, in the same direction.

Perhaps not much can be looked for that will stand upon

the deep and immovable foundations of absolute certainty, but a wise, cautious, and enlightened examination may afford materials for highly probable presumptions, for rational conclusions of a nature to command great confidence and general credence. It is impossible to say beforehand how much or how little may be attained. Possibly, probably, the most interesting and important truths may be discovered; or at least new light may be shed upon the knowledge we now possess of the early annals of mankind, both sacred and profane. We ask not to have the uncertain invested with the guise of the certain, to have fancies and fables pass as facts; but we claim, as the prerogative of intellect, that it be permitted and encouraged to educe rational and probable conclusions from the comparison, collocation, accumulation, and weight of evidence, — to extract from monuments and vestiges and traces of usage, art, tradition, and language the truths they embody and the story they enfold. In the condition of America, as it was presented to its discoverers and first explorers, — in its structures, its arts, its languages, its superstitions, the physiological traits of its natives in feature, complexion, and organization, and the deep stamp of peculiar mental and moral sentiments and characteristics pervading them all, — what a wide field is opened for the exercise and display of those finest and noblest faculties of the mind, by which we extract from the present and the seen the distant and unknown, — by which we scale the heights of the heavens, compelling the stars that are visible to disclose to our view invisible planets and systems beyond; — and by which we descend the centuries that are past, and trace the progress of our race through ages of which no express record remains!

The idea has frequently been suggested, that the American Indians were, to some extent at least, descendants of the lost tribes of Israel. Although discredited and denounced by many of the leading arbiters of opinion, we believe that it has been entertained extensively by solitary thinkers, and may almost be considered as the popular impression. We confess that our own mind has experienced an ever-deepening conviction, that, from whatever other sources contributions may have been made, — as, for instance, among the Peruvians there appears to have been a strong Chinese infusion, — the aboriginal American had much in his character and manners that proclaimed aloud a Jewish origin. This conjec-

ture has been confirmed by many of the circumstances related by Catlin, by scattered indications in the pleasing and valuable sketches of Stephens, and by passages, here and there, in the works of our author. In an Appendix to one of his volumes, he treats the subject briefly and fairly. He gives no opinion, and, like the rest, does not seem to feel that ground can be obtained strong and substantial enough to rest an opinion upon. We would not affirm an opinion, but rather an inclination of mind towards an opinion. We wait for a more thorough and earnest and persevering examination of the matter by one qualified to judge, and duly impressed with the interest, importance, and dignity of the subject. A considerable acquaintance with Indians, particularly in our early life, has heightened our interest in the question of their origin. Their theology, adhering everywhere to the great idea of one God, their adamantine firmness, which neither power nor pain has ever been able to move, and their aspect towards other races of men, with whom no closeness of contact and no length of time can blend them, — these general features have impressed us with the idea of the identity of the aboriginal American and the Israelite. We never look upon an Indian, particularly in his natural state and displaying the prominent characteristics of his race, without having our thoughts turned towards that wonderful people who, in the unchanging peculiarity of their faith and manners, "dwell alone," and who, scattered everywhere throughout the world, stubbornly and immovably refuse to mingle with other men, and will never "be reckoned among the nations." There is, indeed, a strange resemblance in the general appearance of these two remarkable portions of mankind.

The naturalist at once, and without a question, places specimens which agree in their several properties and features, and are unlike all other plants or animals, in the same class or family.

We have been led to these remarks in this connection, because we think that the sphere of study and exploration which Mr. Prescott has for some time been occupying, more than all others, contains the sources of light on this subject. Viscount Kingsborough has published a rare and costly compilation, in seven folio volumes, in the most splendid style of typographical execution, under the title of "The Antiquities of Mexico," presenting fac-similes, drawings, documents, and remains collected from public libraries. Mr. Prescott

says, "He has brought together a most rich collection of unpublished materials to illustrate the Aztec, and, in a wider sense, American antiquities; and, by this munificent undertaking, which no government probably would have, and few individuals could have, executed, he has entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of every friend of science." As Mr. Prescott states, "the drift of Lord Kingsborough's speculations is to establish the colonization of Mexico by the Israelites." We believe it would be found that Spanish writers, of the period of the conquest, without exception, recognized numerous analogies between the aborigines and the Israelites. Some of them, such as Las Casas, Sahagun, Boturini, Garcia, Gumilla, Benaventa, and Peter Martyr, were convinced of the Hebrew origin of the former; others, like Torquemada, Herrera, Gomara, Acosta, Cortés, and Bernal Diaz, took the ground that Satan had counterfeited, or rather travestied, among the savage races of America, the history, manners, customs, rites, traditions, and expectations of the Jews. The reports of the first explorers filled the Spanish government and the heads of the Church with astonishment and alarm. The strictest scrutiny was imposed upon the correspondence of officers, and others; a system of censorship and inquisition of documents was organized; the publication of journals and memoirs was prohibited; and heretics, especially Jews, were forbidden or prevented from travelling in the Spanish colonies. The time has now come, it is probable, when the truth will be allowed to transpire. If Mr. Prescott, or any other person of the highest credit, should seek to explore original manuscripts, still in existence, with the view of investigating this question, the policy of refusing access to them would not, we may hope, be persisted in.

Besides the contemporary Spanish writers, others, like Baron Humboldt, who have at any time treated the subject, would of course be examined. In addition to the points we have mentioned, the remarkable methods of reckoning time among the Indians would be scrutinized; as also the resemblance of many ceremonies and rites, such as baptism, circumcision, and the use of consecrated water; the names given to observances; the traditions with respect to a deluge, to migrations, and to sacred books; the use of sacrifices; the forms of sacred architecture; the sacerdotal offices, costume, and character; the similarity of laws and moral precepts and senti-

ments; the melancholy forebodings of a near approaching day of destruction, of the demolition of the power, and glory, and very name of their people, which filled the minds of many of the princes and wise men, and which in some instances assumed such particularity of shape and minuteness of delineation, that Mr. Prescott speaks of them as "random prophecies"; and, more interesting than all, the surprising analogy between their ideas associated with a great deliverer who should come, under the name of Quetzalcoatl, and those attached in the Jewish mind to their expected Messiah.

We should not have dwelt so long on this subject, nor have touched it, perhaps, at all, did we not think that a spirit of skepticism has succeeded to one of credulity respecting it. The sources from which the vast continent of America was originally supplied with the extraordinary race which, in different tribes, with a wonderful similarity of character and aspect, covered it from one extreme to another, present a problem which Philosophy and Religion will for ever call upon History to resolve. No field of inquiry or research ought to be regarded with inert despair. A persevering industry, stimulated by that enthusiasm of faith without which no difficult enterprise can succeed, and guided by that calm and careful discrimination without which neither labor nor zeal is effectual, will at last solve the great question, and pour a stream of light along the track which humanity pursued in passing from hemisphere to hemisphere, and in spreading its successive waves from Bhering's Strait to Cape Horn.

C. W. U.

Art. IX. — REV. WILLIAM B. O. PEABODY.*

The deep and universal mourning caused by Dr. Peabody's death in the place where he had resided for twenty-seven years, and the number and character of the obituary notices which have appeared in different parts of the country,

---

* *A Discourse, delivered at the Funeral of Rev. William B. O. Peabody, D. D., in Springfield, June* 1, 1847. By Ezra S. Gannett, Minister of the Federal Street Congregation, Boston. Springfield. 1847. 8vo. pp. 34.

show that this event is regarded as a public loss, — a loss not merely to religion, but to letters and humanity. Dr. Gannett's discourse at the funeral, mentioned below, is what it should be, — solemn, impressive, consolatory, discriminating, and thoroughly Christian in all its topics, making it almost unnecessary that any thing further should be said at this time. We are glad to learn that a selection from Dr. Peabody's published and unpublished writings will soon be given to the press, together with a more extended memoir of the author; these will afford the materials of a more complete estimate of his character and genius. Still, we are unwilling not to avail ourselves of the earliest occasion to express some sense, however inadequate, of the rare merits and accomplishments of one who has contributed so essentially to the interest and value of the pages of this journal.

He was born in Exeter, N. H., July 9, 1799. Having completed his preparatory studies at Phillips Academy, in his native town, he entered Harvard College, where he graduated in 1816. At college, though every way respectable as a scholar, he seems to have been less remarkable for study than for the eagerness with which he accumulated the materials of future study. It is a striking proof of the extent to which his memory could be trusted, that in after life, with scarcely a handful of books of his own, and without access to others, he was able to write on such a variety of subjects, and often with an affluence of illustration which surprised as much as it gratified the reader. He often said that it was almost wholly the fruit of a diligent and somewhat miscellaneous use of the college library, while resident at Cambridge. From college he passed into the Divinity School, and, after having completed his theological studies there, was almost immediately called to preach in the beautiful region where he spent the remainder of his days. His impressions at this time we give in his own words.*

"It was at this season of the year 1820, that I first came to Springfield; it was in those days when it required two days' travelling to reach this town from Boston. Winter though it was, I well remember the delight with which I first looked upon this queen of valleys from the brow of the neighbouring hill; even

* We take this and subsequent extracts from a "Familiar Address, delivered at the Social Meeting of the Members of the Liberal Society, on the Evening of March 16th, 1843," which was printed for the use of the members of the Society.

then, in its snowy vesture, it seemed to me the most beautiful that I ever saw. Many circumstances combined to produce in me some desolate feelings. I was very young, wanting some months of the age of twenty-one; I was without experience in my own profession, having preached but a few Sabbaths; I was wholly unacquainted with the inhabitants of the village, not having seen more than one or two of them before; I knew also that this was a frontier station, which would require a degree of judgment and power which I was far from possessing. But I was met with a friendly welcome which at once removed those feelings, and I soon found that it was the place where I was to live, and possibly to die." — pp. 3, 4.

Under these circumstances, too far removed from churches of his own denomination to allow of frequent exchanges, by which something is done to abridge ministerial labor, it was to be expected that he would be content with the work which his profession imposed. But not so. Always a lover of nature, he became almost by necessity a student of nature, attaining to such proficiency as to be appointed on the Scientific Survey of the State. His "Report on the Ornithology of Massachusetts," filling one hundred and fifty closely printed octavo pages, abounds with original and curious observations, and is also marked, more frequently than one would suppose such a paper could be, with the peculiar amenities of his style. He has likewise been for many years a large, perhaps in all the largest, contributor to the North American Review, as well as to the Christian Examiner, and wrote occasionally for other publications. For some months past the amount of his contributions to the periodicals just mentioned has been absolutely incredible; especially when we consider that it was the work of a wasted and wasting frame, and that there was no apparent decay of vigor or vivacity. His reviews of Carlyle's Cromwell, and Aikin's Life of Addison, both quite recent, will be generally accounted, we suppose, among his best. But all his communications bear the stamp of a chaste, beautiful, and well furnished mind; from their subjects, as well as the execution, they are among those which have been most generally read; sometimes reminding one of the graceful and polished wit of Addison, at others of the plaintive and almost unwilling humor of Cowper, and placing him beyond question, as regards style at least, among the best prose-writers which this country, or any other country, has produced. He also

found time to write verses; and though his modesty would not accept the praises many were inclined to bestow on these efforts, his "Hymn of Nature," "Monadnock," the lines "To William, written by a bereaved Father," and the beautiful hymn beginning, "Behold the western evening light!" will long hold their places in the best collections of American poetry.

Let it not be imagined that, in order to meet these extraordinary demands on his industry, the pastor forgot or neglected his flock. On the contrary, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another clergyman who in the same time has preached an equal number of discourses in his own pulpit, or an equal number of original discourses. Knowing this, and knowing also that he was seldom to be found in his study, many have been disposed to overrate the facility with which he wrote. Here, therefore, it may be well to recur to his own statements.

"Since I am speaking of matters relating to myself, let me take this opportunity to say something in relation to my habits of writing, which ought to be understood. I do not believe that any thing worth reading or hearing can be produced without labor; and the labor of writing wears upon the nerves and exhausts the spirits more, perhaps, than any other. Let any man sit down to prepare an address for some public occasion, and he will have an idea of this labor. Doubtless it becomes easier by habit; but the effect of routine, and the perpetual recurrence of the demand, once, if not twice, in every week, create a difficulty on the other side. My own habit has been never to sit down to consider what I shall write, as many do. I find that my mind, such as it is, acts most freely away from the study and in the presence of nature. I therefore construct in my own mind an exact image of every thing which I intend to write; and this, when completed, can either be spoken or written, as the case requires. My sermons are thus written in my mind during my walks in the fields, the Cemetery, or the garden, and, when matured, are committed to paper in very little time. This has given the impression that I write easily and rapidly, when in truth I have no advantage in this respect, except perhaps that of a better system, which, after the experience of years, I would recommend to every writer, whatever his profession may be." — pp. 11, 12.

Dr. Peabody's preaching, especially for the last ten years, was preëminently spiritual and Scriptural. He had no confidence in any morality which was not founded in a sense of

the Divine presence, made real and effective to the minds of men by faith in Jesus Christ. To some it might seem that many of his sermons were so spiritual, so far removed from the ordinary and worldly view of things, that a majority of his congregation could hardly be expected to sympathize with them, or even fully to understand them. It may have been so to a certain extent; but those who do not like sermons for this reason must feel, nevertheless, that they ought to like them. Besides, the best effect of preaching is not to gain sympathy or impart knowledge, but to induce in the hearer a sense of moral deficiencies, and an aspiration for something better, which he is made to feel that others possess. As another advantage resulting from his method of preaching, we may observe that he succeeded beyond most others in satisfying all parties as regards the moral reforms of the day, and other agitating questions. Seizing the principle as it stood in the mind of Christ, above the point of divergency among Christians, and urging it with a clearness, simplicity, and earnestness not to be distrusted, all parties felt that he had the truth. After all that has been said about applying principles, he showed that Christian principles, if rightly inculcated and enforced, would apply themselves; and that this constitutes the principal difference between a living and a dead faith. For the same reason, he had no inclination to what is called controversial preaching; but on this point we must be allowed to cite once more his own account of himself.

"As soon as I took charge of the pulpit, a question rose up before me. Should I consider it my duty to explain and extend Liberal opinions, or should I devote myself to the personal improvement of the members of my society, trusting that the truth with respect to doctrines would make its own way in the public mind? In pursuing the former course I should have struck the key-note of the general feeling; zeal of this kind excites a ready sympathy, and the want of it is regarded as tameness; such a course would have added more to our numbers than any other, and many plausible reasons might have been given to show that it was the right one. It would have been easier also for myself. I remember being told by a distinguished physician, that he was seldom consulted by controversial preachers; their sermons were written without any of that labor of mind which wears students down. But I could not persuade myself that this was the way of duty. I knew, that, as fast and far as party passions are excited, devotion and charity are apt to forsake the breast; I was

well aware that many are made Unitarians, Calvinists, Baptists, and sectarians of every name, without being made Christians by the same conversion. 'I therefore determined,' if it is not presumption in me to use the words, 'I therefore determined to know nothing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified'; since men were sent into the world, not to put on the livery of a party, but to lay the foundations of character in preparation for immortal life." — pp. 6, 7.

All his discourses were marked by the peculiarity of his mind, which was poetical, rather than logical. He did not deduce one truth from another, but illustrated one truth by another; accordingly, it was aptness and wealth of illustration which constituted at once their excellence and their charm. Hence much of his success in the exposition of the Scriptures, in which by all accounts he was singularly happy; so much so, that he was frequently importuned to prepare a popular commentary for the press, and appears to have entertained favorably the purpose. Had he carried it into effect, his object would have been not so much to define and justify the sense of Scripture by learned criticism, as to reproduce it in the mind of the reader; and this, too, for the most part, by leading him to regard it under a right moral and spiritual point of view.

After all, what interests us most in Dr. Peabody is the almost unequalled respect and reverence with which he inspired his parishioners for his ministerial character and labors; the more so, when we consider that this was done in the face of great natural disadvantages. Never was a man less fitted, physically speaking, to become what is called a popular preacher. His voice was feeble and monotonous; his countenance, and person, and action were generally stiff and inexpressive; so much so, that he seemed at times to be speaking out of his body, rather than with it. Then as to his mind: originally imagination, and not reason, was the master faculty; and this is apt to beget fastidiousness, and this again indifference, and perhaps self-indulgence. All these difficulties and tendencies he had to overcome; and he did overcome them, by the force of character, by the power of conscience and of faith. Hence the solemn and profound experiences which often made his preaching so searching and so wise; hence the confidence and veneration with which he was everywhere regarded by those who knew him intimately; hence, finally, in his last days, when God's judg-

ments fell in such quick succession on his house, he was not unprepared.

Whoever writes the life of Dr. Peabody will have much to say of her who was not only, as he beautifully expressed it, "the queen of his heart," but "a guardian angel, to whom he owed more than tongue can tell." In 1843 she died. The blow was unspeakably heart-rending. "It seems," said he, when he next addressed his people, — "it seems a long time, my friends, since I spoke with you last. It seems as if winters of desolation had been crowded into a few short stern days of misery since I spoke with you last." Yet, before he was done, he could say, — "It is but natural that I should now look back upon the consolations which I have offered you in your sorrow, and I find that I have not dwelt sufficiently on that one which embraces all the rest; I mean, the blessed thought of God. I am not conscious now of deriving my support from the thought of meeting my best friend again. It is a blessing, but it is not the support; the support is the sympathy of God and the Saviour, and their sustaining presence in the soul. I feel that they are with me. My heart desires no more. I have not a single wish to recall her who was the light of my life; my will is in perfect harmony with my Father's. Naturally fearful and distrustful though I am, there is no darkness before me, there is no darkness round me, — all is divinely bright above me. Without a single misgiving or doubt, I shall take my shoes on my feet, and my staff in my hand, and go in the way of duty, desolated though it is, I trust with more faithulness than ever, so long as it pleases God."

The next year brought with it another calamity; the daughter, who had supplied the place of her mother, was laid by her mother's side. To borrow the words of the Funeral Discourse, —

"He seemed to stand among us a monument of the desolation which may come upon the dearest children of God. The wife of his bosom and the daughter of his hope were taken, — she who had been as constant in her love as she had proved herself noble in character, and she whose excellence unfolded itself so rapidly beneath the chastening hand of God, that it filled him with admiration, and, as he himself said, made him seem to realize an experience like that of the 'wanderer, who, when falling upon the mountain-side, grasped a small plant for support, and thus brought to light the rich mines of Peru.' She, too, vanished from

his sight. But the faith which he had shown in his former trial he exhibited now, only with an added meekness of resignation that made his example almost strangely beautiful. It seemed now as if he felt himself standing between the two worlds of being, and looking into heaven, that he might speak of its visions to those by whom he was surrounded on earth. His manner of address became more earnest and affectionate; his desire to bring you into an acquaintance with your own higher capacities and relations, more ardent. He spoke freely of himself, of his outward and inward experience. And if he did not speak with effect, it was not from a want of whatever constitutes the loftiest quality of sacred eloquence. I know of nothing in the whole range of pulpit discourse, written or unwritten, which in tenderness of feeling, solemnity of purpose, or exquisite beauty of sentiment, surpasses the address which he made in this place after the death of the daughter whose light had so revived his stricken heart." — pp. 26–28.

One so tried, so purified, so "ready to be offered," could not be long for this world. For several months his bodily health and strength were declining; but his mind, meanwhile, was never more active or more productive, as if conscious that the time was short, or perhaps because in constant and useful occupation he found a refuge from the thought of his desolation. At length the pen fell from his hand, and, after being confined to his bed for a few days, he died, on Friday night, May 28, 1847, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The bitterness of life and the bitterness of death are past; and though we cannot but regret that so much excellence has left us, we are glad to believe that he is with those whom he most loved, and that the faith in that mysterious Presence which supported him here is turned into sight.

J. W.

ART. X. — THE CATACOMBS AND THE CHURCH OF ROME.*

WE take in connection the two works the titles of which appear at the foot of the page, partly from a principle of

---

* 1. *The Church in the Catacombs: a Description of the Primitive Church of Rome, illustrated by its Sepulchral Remains.* By CHARLES MAITLAND, M. D. London. 1846. 8vo. pp. 312.

2. *Rome, Pagan and Papal.* By an ENGLISH RESIDENT in that City. London. 1846. 12mo. pp. 272.

resemblance, but still more from that of contrast. They both relate to Rome, one of them to the buried Church, — "the Church in the Catacombs," — the other to the Church as at present existing there, in her "rites and ceremonies" more Pagan than that which sleeps, or, till modern explorers disinterred it, slept, in the subterranean city, — the Church of the primitive ages.

In our notice of M. Didron's work (*Iconographie Chrétienne*), in the number of the Christian Examiner for November, 1846, we introduced some remarks on the value of ancient monuments and inscriptions as throwing light on the development of thought and the history of theological and religious opinions and usages in the different ages of the Church. Of the justness of these remarks Dr. Maitland's researches furnish ample illustration. His work affords much curious and interesting information relating to the Church as it existed in Rome during the first three centuries and part of the fourth, through which period the Catacombs were resorted to for purposes of concealment in times of persecution, for the performance of religious rites, and for the burial of the dead. From the termination of the period just named to the sixteenth century, these subterranean galleries, with few exceptions, were neglected, and access to them was rendered difficult or impossible by masses of accumulated rubbish. They were then reopened, and their contents, which had reposed in silence and darkness for more than a thousand years, restored to the light of day.

"It is difficult," says Dr. Maitland, "now to realize the impression which must have been made upon the first explorers of this subterranean city. A vast necropolis, rich in the bones of saints and martys; a stupendous testimony to the truth of Christian history, and, consequently, to that of Christianity itself; a faithful record of the trials of a persecuted Church; — such were the objects presented to their view; and so great was the enthusiasm with which they devoted themselves to the research, that two of the earliest writers on the Catacombs of Rome, Bosio and Boldetti, occupied thirty years each in collecting materials for their respective works, which in both instances remained to be edited by their survivors.

"We must now have recourse to the museums of Rome, and the works of antiquarians, in order to understand the arrangement of the Catacombs at the time of their use as cemeteries. From the removal of every thing portable to a place of greater

security and more easy access, as well as from the difficulty of personally examining these dangerous galleries beyond the mere entrance left open to general inspection, we are no longer able to share the feelings of those who beheld the cemeteries and chapels of a past age completely furnished with their proper contents.

"St. Jerome has left us a lively picture of their state during the early part of his lifetime, that is, about the middle of the fourth century. 'When I was at Rome,' says the monk of Palestine, 'still a youth, and employed in literary pursuits, I was accustomed, in company with others of my own age, and actuated by the same feelings, to visit on Sundays the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs; and often to go down into the crypts dug in the heart of the earth, where the walls on either side are lined with the dead; and so intense is the darkness, that we almost realize the words of the prophet, "They go down alive into hell" (or Hades), and here and there a scanty aperture, ill deserving the name of window, admits scarcely light enough to mitigate the gloom which reigns below: and as we advance through the shades with cautious steps, we are forcibly reminded of the words of Virgil, "Horror on all sides; even the silence terrifies the mind."'"—pp. 2, 3.

The result of the labors of Bosio was given to the world in 1632, under the title of *Roma Sotterranea*, with an original chapter by Severano, the editor. A Latin translation of the work, further enlarged, was subsequently republished by Arringhi. Fabretti, who filled the office of Curator of the Catacombs, published a number of epitaphs, to which the folio of his successor, Boldetti, was afterwards added (*Osservazioni sopra i ciminterii dei Santi Martiri*), a work highly valuable for the theological and antiquarian information it contains. This was followed by the work of Bottari (*Sculture e Pitture*), devoted especially to the Christian arts. Here ended for this time the publications on the subject, the Catacombs having now been rifled of the most valuable part of their treasures to enrich the collections of the learned.

A controversy afterwards arose relating to the "Christianity or Heathenism of the monuments" of the subterranean city. This controversy, it appears, has now in a great measure subsided.

"Happily," says Dr. Maitland, "a remarkable agreement on this point prevails among all modern writers; and while it is steadfastly maintained by them that the Christian cemeteries are free from all admixture of Pagan bodies, it is allowed that the excavation of the Catacombs was not begun by the Christians, but that they

appropriated to their own use the subterranean galleries, originally dug to provide the materials for building Rome. The complete occupation of them by Christian sepulchres, the absence of Pagan monuments, and the entire concurrence of all the contemporary writers on the subject, speak so decisively in favor of their exclusively Christian character, that it is difficult to imagine how any further evidence could be adduced concerning a question never agitated till the seventeenth century. The testimony of Prudentius, a writer of the fourth century, is of great weight: he alludes to the Catacombs continually, without seeming to conceive the possibility of their having been defiled by a single Pagan corpse." — pp. 6, 7.

There are various collections of ancient inscriptions and monuments in Rome and the vicinity, but the chief are those found in the Vatican, first, says Dr. Maitland, in the "Christian Museum, properly so called, containing a number of sarcophagi, bas-reliefs, inscriptions, and medals, most of them published in the works of Roman antiquarians"; but especially, he adds, "at the entrance of the Vatican Museum is a long corridor, the sides of which are completely lined with inscriptions plastered into the wall." On the right hand of this gallery appear the votive tablets, dedications of altars, epitaphs, etc., of Pagans; and on the opposite side, under the heads of Greek, Latin, and Consular Monuments, Christian inscriptions, the latter taken from the Catacombs around Rome. These latter had remained hitherto unpublished, and from them the materials of the present work are chiefly drawn. The gallery, from the circumstance that it contains little besides sepulchral stones, is called the "Lapidarian Gallery." Here, in this "sanctuary of antiquity" the "sacred and profane" thus "stand facing each other, in written monuments preserved to us, as in the days when Paganism and Christianity, striving with all their powers, were engaged in mortal conflict." Strange contrast, and full of instruction! as an extract will show.

"On the walls thus loaded with inscriptions belonging to professors of the rival religions, we may trace a contrast between the state of Pagan and that of Christian society in the ancient metropolis. The funereal lamentation, expressed in neatly engraved hexameters, the tersely worded sentiments of stoicism, and the proud titles of Roman citizenship, attest the security and resources of the old religion. Further on, the whole heaven of Paganism is glorified by innumerable altars, where the epithets,

unconquered, greatest, and best, are lavished upon the worthless shadows that peopled Olympus. Here and there are traces of complicated political orders; tablets containing the names of individuals composing a legion or cohort; legal documents relating to property, and whatever belongs to a state, such as the Roman empire in its best times is known to have been. The first glance at the opposite wall is enough to show, that, as St. Paul himself expressed it, 'not many mighty, not many noble,' were numbered among those whose epitaphs are there displayed: some few, indeed, are scarcely to be distinguished from those of the Pagans opposite, but the greater part betray by their execution haste and ignorance. An incoherent sentence, or a straggling misspelt scrawl, ... inscribed upon a rough slab destined to close a niche in caverns where daylight could never penetrate, tells of a persecuted, or at least oppressed, community. There is also a simplicity in many of these slight records not without its charm; as in the annexed,

BIRGINIVS PARVM
STETIT AP. N.

'Virginius remained but a short time with us.'

"The slabs of stone used for closing Christian graves average from one to three feet in length. In this they differ remarkably from the sepulchral tablets of the Pagans, who, being accustomed to burn their dead, required a much smaller covering for the cinerary urn. The letters on Christian monuments are from half an inch to four inches in height, and colored in the incision with a pigment resembling Venetian red. Whether this pigment originally belonged to all the letters is uncertain: many are now found without it. The custom of cutting in the stone is alluded to by Prudentius in his hymn in honor of the eighteen Martyrs of Saragossa; in which he calls upon his fellow-Christians to wash with pious tears the furrows in the marble tablets erected to them.

'Nos pio fletu, date, perluamus
Marmorum sulcos —'

The orthography of these epitaphs is generally faulty, the letters irregular, and the sense not always obvious. . . . . .

"Another difference between the inscriptions belonging to the Pagans and Christians of the early centuries is too remarkable to be passed by unnoticed. While the heathen name consisted of several essential parts, all of which were necessary to distinguish its owner, the Christians in general confined themselves to that which they had received in baptism. Thus the names of Felix, Sevus, Philemon, and Agape are found on tombs, unaccompanied by any of the other designations which belonged to

those individuals as members of a Roman family. Occasionally we meet with two, and perhaps even three, names on their monuments, as Aurelia Agapetilla, Largia Agape; but these are not common. The first believers, when not forced, by the multiplicity of persons christened alike, to add a further distinction, appear to have regarded their Christian name as the only one worthy of preservation on their sepulchres." — pp. 10 – 12.

The following affords a touching testimony to the power of the religion of the cross.

"The Fathers of the Church live in their voluminous works; the lower orders are only represented by these simple records, from which, with scarcely an exception, sorrow and complaint are banished; the boast of suffering, or an appeal to the revengeful passions, is nowhere to be found. One expresses faith, another hope, a third charity. The genius of primitive Christianity, 'to believe, to love, and to suffer,' has never been better illustrated. These 'sermons in stones' are addressed to the heart, and not to the head, — to the feelings rather than to the taste; and possess additional value from being the work of the purest and most influential portion of the 'catholic and apostolic Church' then in existence." — p. 13.

The value of Christian monuments and inscriptions as sources of historical information relating to the ancient Church, it is obvious, depends on their age. In those in the Lapidarian Gallery, according to Dr. Maitland, there are "no prayers for the dead (unless the forms, 'May you live,' 'May God refresh you,' be so construed); no addresses to the Virgin Mary, nor to the Apostles or earlier saints." One epitaph, however, contains the words, "Pray for us" (*Ora pro nobis*). The monuments everywhere breathe a "gentle and amiable spirit," and are distinctively Christian, though occasionally retaining, as was natural, some slight traces of Pagan ideas. The name of Christ, or its monogram, perpetually appears. On innumerable stones he is figured as the "Good Shepherd, bearing on his shoulders the recovered sheep, by which many an illiterate believer expressed his sense of personal salvation." The cross in its simpler form is everywhere met, and all savors of the faith and simplicity of primitive times.

We are compelled by the limits we have assigned to this article to pass over much which we should be glad to present to our readers relating to the origin of the Catacombs, the manner in which Christians originally became connected

with them, their use as places of worship and as cemeteries, the enlargement they from time to time received, and the manner in which the bodies of their occupants were disposed in them. In conformity with the Christian principle of common brotherhood, the dead reposed there side by side, and not, like the ashes of the heathen, in separate and costly urns. Dr. Maitland thinks, what is contrary to the hypothesis of some writers, that there is no evidence of any "accumulation of tombs around those of the martyrs." The graves, he says, are "distributed irregularly along the passages, and here and there one is marked with the supposed symbols of martyrdom"; but these symbols are very deceptive, and several of those formerly relied on as indicating the martyr's fate are now shown to have had a very different purpose. The "*title* of martyr does not occur on a tombstone," the writer says, to the best of his knowledge, "before the persecution of Diocletian; nor is it found in the Lapidarian Gallery." Some of the inscriptions are expressive of rest, but generally the idea of hope and confidence in a resurrection distinctly appears. As our readers may feel some curiosity to see specimens of the epitaphs of these old Christians, we will give a few culled from different parts of the volume before us. Some of them, it will be seen, are exceedingly short and simple, others occur longer and more complex, those of the former description being by far the most numerous. Thus we have, "Victorina sleeps," — "Zoticus laid here to sleep," — "Gemella sleeps in peace," — "Eutropus in peace," — "Domitianus, a simple soul, sleeps in peace," — "Sweet Faustina, may you live in God," — "Bolosa, may God refresh thee," — "Nicephorus, a sweet soul, in the place of refreshment," — "The place of Sevus," — "The place of Exuperantius the deacon," — "Maximinus, who lived 23 years; friend of all men," — "In Christ. On the 5th Kalends of November, slept Gorgonius, friend of all, and enemy to none," — "Furia Elpis, a consecrated virgin," — "To Octavia, a matron, widow of God." Irene and Agape (Peace and Love) were favorite names among the ancient Christians, as epitaphs like the following show: — "Irene in peace. Her mother Agape set up this," — "Agape, may you live for ever."

The earliest Christian epitaph we possess, according to Dr. Maitland, belongs to the year 98: — "Publius Liberio

lived two years, three months, and eight days. Anicius Faustus and Virius Gallus being consuls." There is a fragment of one belonging to A. D. 102. The next dates A. D. 111: — "Servilia, aged thirteen, died in the consulate of Piso and Bolanus." The following belongs to A. D. 235: — "Aurelia, our sweetest daughter, who departed from the world, Severus and Quintinus being consuls. She lived fifteen years and four months." We may remark here that an uncommonly large proportion of the epitaphs given belong to children, and they often express the tenderest affection. Besides those already copied we have such as these: — "To Adsertor, our son, dear, sweet, most innocent, and incomparable, who lived seventeen years, six months, and eight days. His father and mother set up this"; — "Laurence to his sweetest son Severus, borne away by angels on the seventh Ides of January," etc. Some of the inscriptions possess a remarkable precision, naming not only the years, months, and days the person lived, but the odd hours. Others, again, are as remarkable for vagueness; as, "To Claudius, the well-deserving and affectionate, who loved me. He lived twenty-five years, more or less. In peace."

The following is one of the "very few epitaphs actually inscribed on the grave of a martyr, specifying him to be such": — "Lannus, the martyr of Christ, rests here. He suffered under Diocletian. (The sepulchre is) also for his posterity"; the latter clause being expressed on monuments by the initials, e. p. s. (*et posteris suis*).

On the subject of the number of the martyrs, it is well known, there exists a difference of opinion. Dodwell maintained that they were very few, and every body is aware that the Roman martyrologists are not to be confided in. As will be inferred from what has been already said, the old monuments afford little help in the controversy. Times of persecution are not the most favorable for erecting monuments, and multitudes of Christians, even in the tranquil days of the Church, belonging to an humble condition, slept in unnumbered and unlettered graves. We cannot infer the paucity of martyrs from the absence of epitaphs declaring their martyrdom. There is some evidence on the subject, showing, in the language of Dr. Maitland, "the sweeping nature of the last persecution, in the two inscriptions [not Christian] erected on its termination by Diocletian and Galerius." Gruter says, that they were "found on beautiful columns"

at Clunia, in Spain. The first speaks of "the Christian superstition" as universally extinguished in the East, and of the propagation of the worship of the heathen gods under these emperors; and the second celebrates Diocletian and Maximian for having "extended the Roman empire through the East and West, and obliterated the name of the Christians, who were overthrowing the republic."* Yet Christianity was not extinguished nor obliterated, but was near the period of its final triumph, in a few years ascending the throne of the Cæsars.

The church of the Catacombs, however, differed very essentially from the modern church of the seven-hilled city. On turning from Dr. Maitland's volume to the second named on our list, what a contrast presents itself! The difference is not that simply which exists between a persecuted and a triumphant church, but old Pagan Rome seems to have risen from her ashes and still to live in the prevailing rites and usages of the "eternal" city. Middleton, in his celebrated "Letter from Rome," long ago attempted to draw the parallel, and show how much of heathenism had passed into Christianity, and under another name was still retained. The "English Resident," without any reference to that work, and deriving many of his materials from personal observation, pursues a similar track. He has certainly made, for the general reader, an entertaining and instructive book, and though the resemblance he professes to trace between the old and the new, between Pagan and Christian Rome, occasionally appears a little fanciful or forced, yet his pictures are such in the main as we can accept, and he clearly writes with an honest purpose and without one particle of sectarian acrimony or exclusiveness. To the great ideas embodied by the Catholic Church, and the noble spirit of her devotions where he meets them, he pays due homage, nay, in the position she has occupied finds every apology he can for her superstitions. He judges her generously, but he discovers the taint of heathenism on her robes, and by a few graphic "pencillings" shows the need she has to arise and purify her garments. The old deities were not more worshipped than are the Madonna, and the saints of modern Italy.

After some remarks on this subject, the writer proceeds to speak of images and image-worship in ancient and modern

* Church in the Catacombs, p. 129.

Rome; then of the miracles of the Romish Church. The paper on the latter subject concludes thus: —

"Here, then, I finish my observations on Roman Catholic miracles; but remember that these things, which appear trifles to you, are here serious, very serious things; and, indeed, they *are* very serious things, if we look on them as representing the mind of Italy. The majority of those which I have adduced are recommended, as you will have seen, by Papal authority, or by that of a celebrated antiquary, and are interwoven with their fêtes and with the names of some of their religious edifices: the few which I have advanced towards the termination of my letter have only the guaranty of my *incorrupta fides*. If the comparison which I have instituted be fair and just, it will prove, not that the Roman Church is Pagan, altogether abominable, the Scarlet Lady of Babylon, or whatever else it may please our firebrands to call her, — but that, like all other institutions, divine or human, she has been acted upon by surrounding influences, and reflects the colors of the moral and spiritual atmosphere in which she lives and has her being. At the same time, however, she is not merely passive; for, possessing unbounded influence over an ignorant, devout, and imaginative people, she modifies their dreams and gives them their particular form and substance. And the people will dream, and the Church will possess and exercise her influence, until education shall induce a more wholesome state of mind. But that time is, I fear, far distant, and stones will sweat and hot ricottas will fall yet many a year. Let us rejoice, however, in the belief that mind is advancing, however slow be the progress. Things cannot remain as they are; and the time may yet come when Rome shall be as distinguished for her superiority in the arts of civilization as she has already been in arms." — pp. 69, 70.

Reflections equally creditable to the writer's understanding and feelings occur at the conclusion of his letters on the worship of relics, votive offerings, ceremonies of the Church, and several others. The following remarks on the "Carnevale" (so the author writes it), are deserving of attention.

"It is now time to turn to something more serious, so we will gradually trace back the history of the Carnevale to its birth, touching, as a matter of necessity, on its ecclesiastical character; — not that I mean to say that the Carnevale is sanctioned by the Church; on the contrary, it is merely tolerated as a necessary evil, which cannot be rooted out without a terrible convulsion. The priesthood have, therefore, instead of prohibiting it, endeavoured to stamp another character upon it, and hence, per-

haps, it is that the first day is marked by that *atto di fede*, that monstrous act of intolerance, to which I have already alluded. On the Sundays preceding and following the opening of the Carnevale, every effort is made by preaching and church ceremonies to lead away the public mind from its riotous proceedings, and on the two or three last days is exposed the *Santissima*, to encourage the delusion that God now dwells more intimately with his people and invites them to prayer. There are, however, other and more positive indications of an effort to change the character of the fête, and to win it, as Rowland Hill might have said, from the service of the Devil to the service of God. One of the most brilliant fêtes to be witnessed in St. Peter's is that of the distribution and procession of candles, when the Pope presents a blessed taper to every one of the faithful, and when Pope, priests, and laity afterwards march round the church in great state, bearing the candles. This ceremony takes place on the 2d of February, and the festa is called, in the Roman Church, 'the Purification of the most blessed Virgin Mary.' It was instituted at the end of the fifth century, as a substitute for some of those Pagan festivities which were still kept up in the early times of the Church, in spite of the exertions and denunciations of the priesthood; but for what particular fête it was substituted authors are not agreed. Innocent III. thought it was substituted for the feast of Ceres, when, in imitation of the goddess seeking her daughter, each worshipper bore a candle in procession. There is some reason for believing, however, that this Pagan fête is perpetuated in a practice I have observed at Naples at a later season of the year. Cardinal Lambertinus (Benedict XIV.) is of opinion that the feast of Purification was substituted for the Ambarvalia, which was celebrated every fifth year after the receipt of the tribute, on which occasion sacrifices were offered to the infernal gods, and the people walked round the city bearing lighted torches. Another opinion still is, that, in 492, Pope Gelasius I. instituted this fête as a substitute for the Lupercalia. Though there is a great difference of opinion, however, upon the subject, we have sufficient evidence for believing that the Pagan rites are reflected in those of the Roman Church, and at the same time that a laudable desire has always existed, however injudiciously or ineffectually it has been promoted, to wean the public mind from these worst relics of the past." * — pp. 189, 190.

* It may be worth while to give in this connection, in a note, some remarks quoted by Dr. Maitland from so celebrated a father of the Church as Augustine. "When peace was made, the crowd of Gentiles who were anxious to embrace Christianity were deterred by this, that, whereas they had been accustomed to pass the holidays in drunkenness and feasting before their idols, they could not easily consent to forego these most perni-

We pass by some passages we should like to extract, on the influence of "confession," both on the persons making it and on the priesthood, and give the following from the letter on the Italian pulpit.

"And now let me pass to the second portion of my remarks, — on the intellectual and moral character of the discourses of the Italian preacher, of which I cannot say I have formed a very elevated opinion. Indeed, as I have already observed, the preacher and the people will always act and react one upon the other. Such is the case, eminently so, in Italy, where, amidst a great variety of pulpit orators, under almost every variety of circumstances, though I have met with much ingenuity, often taste and sensibility, I have scarcely in any instance met with that profundity of thought or closeness of reasoning which not unfrequently distinguish the English preacher. One reason of this obviously is, that the Italians are not a thinking people, and such a style would be lost upon them. Another reason is, that the Roman Catholic Church, insisting on an implicit faith in its dogmata, gives no scope to thought and discourages all inquiry. Hence is it that the oratory of the Italian pulpit is highly impassioned and imaginative. It loves to paint a pure world of romance, in which the Godhead and the Madonna and San Giuseppe are brought before us in all the easy familiarity with which a human family might be presented; their interpositions in behalf of their Catholic worshippers, at times ludicrously enough, related as if they were events of the most common occurrence; the whole transactions of the divine household, if I may so express myself without impiety, minutely narrated; and the Godhead, instead of being represented as that pure spiritual unity we are taught to adore in the Holy Scriptures, — eternal, immortal, invisible, — is parcelled out amongst a number of imaginary beings, who inhabit a perfect world of romance. There are also other existences, such as guardian and arch-angels, as well as saints, who serve to give life to the pictures of the preacher, and with whom he seems to be on terms of the most perfect acquaintance. How many are the anecdotes I have heard of what such a saint said or did, — of a conversation between him and the Madonna or Gesù, — of the interposition of Santa Maria, or Santa Teresa, or San Gennaro, in behalf of a suffering worshipper; and all most devoutly received on the authority of the descendant of the Apostles, — as devoutly, indeed, as the Gospel itself!

---

cious, yet ancient pleasures. It seemed good, then, to our leaders to favor this part of their weakness, and *for those festivals which they relinquish to substitute others, in honor of the holy martyrs*, which they might celebrate with similar luxury, though not with the same impiety." Epist. xxix. — *Church in the Catacombs*, p. 213.

These are some of the staple commodities which the Roman preacher offers to his audience. Nor must I forget to allude to the scenery which he employs. Hell and Purgatory in all their horrors, and Paradise with all its glories, are circumstantially described, as if they were within a day's journey, or as if the orator were merely adding an appendix to the veracious narratives of a Virgil or a Dante: nay, in order to give greater life to his descriptions, I have seen the action of hell-fire represented in the pulpit by the actual application of a torch to the wrist, — the picture being thus made much more graphic than any which a Rubens or a Michel Angelo have ever painted, and giving rise to the suspicion almost that the celebrated painting of Michel Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, or of Rubens at Munich, may have furnished more materials than the Gospels. After such statements as these, I am sure you will consider me justified in describing Italy as one vast nursery for children, and the preachers as nursing fathers, who, like nurses of another sex, are constantly feeding the imagination with more monstrous fables than fairy-land has ever suggested, and basing their spiritual dominion on the credulity and ignorance of their spiritual children." — pp. 224–226.

Of the Church he says in the same letter: —

"Her practice, as far as we have seen in the quotations I have offered to you, is to maintain the obedience of her children by suppressing in every possible manner the exercise of the reasoning faculty, and encouraging superstition, credulity, and every thing else that can enfeeble the mind. She reduces man to infancy (designedly, I will not say), and then provides him toys, saints and relics and *feste*, with all their accompaniments of ribbons and flowers and music and incense; and when he has thus become once again a prattler, she takes advantage of his hopes and fears to fill her coffers and enrich her clergy. In these few words I have nearly anticipated what I had meant to say on the character of the people. Discouraged in the exercise of their thinking powers, they become mentally degraded, and, instead of investigating the sublime truths of Christianity, and entering into the lofty regions of thought which they open to us, they rather babble over improbable traditions and monkish legends, like children who wander delighted through the wild regions of romance." — p. 234.

With these extracts we take our leave for the present of the author of these very agreeable Letters, assuring him that we shall be glad to meet him again, and enjoy with him the fruits culled by him on classic or on Christian ground. A. L.

NOTE TO ART. IV.

[We take the unusual course of giving in the present number a reply to an article which will be found in the previous pages. We are led to do this by our desire to preserve that frankness and impartiality which we think should mark periodical, and especially religious, literature. The fact, that an article containing strictures on his Translation of the Psalms was in the hands of our printer, came to Dr. Noyes's knowledge, and led to an interview between him and the author of the article, in company with the Editors of the Examiner; and as it appeared that both parties considered it would be most fair, as well as most agreeable to their feelings, that the article should appear with a rejoinder in the same number, we have so far deviated from usage as to present both papers to our readers at the same time. — Eds.]

Messrs. Editors, — As you were good enough to allow me to look at the proof-sheets of the review of my translation of the Psalms, I beg leave to say a few words in regard to the use which I made of Professor Torrey's translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Book of Psalms, contained in the third volume of the Biblical Repository. In regard to the use of that translation, the reviewer expressly acquits me of "an intention to mislead, or to make an improper use of other men's labors," and brings against me "no graver charge than that of inadvertence." In so doing he probably had reference to the undeniable facts, that I made references to the volume and page of the Repository whence I derived Torrey's translation of De Wette's views, ample for scholars, or those who have the means and inclination to examine my references, and that the references are to a very common book, of recent publication, in the hands of a great number of professors and clergymen of all denominations. What the reviewer seems to assert is, that my references are not sufficiently full and explicit for those who have not the means and inclination to examine them, or to consult the Biblical Repository. That there is a degree of inadvertence in this respect I admit, and think the reviewer commendable for noticing it.

I must be excused, however, for expressing the opinion, that the reviewer, having in words acquitted me of "an intention to mislead, or to make an improper use of other men's labors," and having stated that he brings "no graver charge" against me "than that of inadvertence," has presented the matter in a way that unduly magnifies its importance, and is adapted to excite suspicion in regard to my literary honesty. Particularly, it strikes me as unnecessary that he should undertake elaborately to prove that I must have made use of Professor Torrey's translation, although in the passage on which he thus comments I professed "in substance *to transcribe*" De Wette's views, and in a note,

which can be conceived to have no other meaning than that of indicating the source from which I derived De Wette's views, I referred, not to the original German, but to the number and page of the Biblical Repository which contains Professor Torrey's translation. I had also three times before referred to the volume and pages of the Biblical Repository containing this translation, in one instance, p. 33, mentioning particularly that a translation of De Wette's Introduction might be found in the number for July, 1833. However, as I have no reason to suspect the reviewer of any ill-will to me, I doubt not that he pursued the course which seemed to him right.

To be more particular in regard to the use which I made of Torrey's translation of De Wette's Introduction. As to the first quotation, beginning, "The Psalms, says De Wette, are lyric poems," and extending two pages and a quarter, it seems to me that I have given substantial credit, both to De Wette and the translator, in a manner not unusual, by the reference to De Wette at the beginning of the passage, by my remark, "in this classification proposed by De Wette," at the close of it, and by the reference in the margin both to the page of De Wette's "Commentar" in the German, where it is found, and to the volume and page of the Biblical Repository which contains Professor Torrey's translation of it. I now see no reason why inverted commas are not placed at the beginning and end of the quotation. But I regard them as by no means necessary, though it might have been better to place them there. The omission of them was probably accidental.

In regard to the next quotation from De Wette's Introduction, of two pages, which is expressly ascribed to him, and inclosed with the usual quotation marks, the reviewer observes that I have not referred in the margin to the place whence I drew it. The reason why this was not done undoubtedly was, that the extract was from the same Introduction of De Wette from which the previous extract was made, and that a few pages before I had referred both to the original, and to the volume and page of the Biblical Repository which contains Professor Torrey's translation of it; and I took it for granted that the reader would suppose, without a new reference, that I drew my translation from that source. It did not occur to me that it was supposable that I should undertake to translate anew what was so well done by Professor Torrey.

In regard to the third quotation, comprehending about eighteen or nineteen pages, from De Wette, introduced by my remarks, — "A more complete view of its varieties [i. e. of the Hebrew parallelism] has been given by De Wette in his Introduction to the Psalms, which I shall in substance transcribe," — I thought

that I sufficiently indicated my obligations to De Wette and to Professor Torrey's translation without the use of quotation marks. First, because De Wette's view of the Hebrew parallelism, which I professed to give, extended, as I supposed, over all those pages, — thus indicating the extent of my quotation as really, though perhaps not as evidently, as quotation marks would have done. I now perceive, however, that three or four of the last pages are only on a subject akin to that of parallelism, viz. other modes of Hebrew rhythm. There was thus some degree of inadvertence. Secondly, my language is, — "I shall in substance *transcribe*." I employ the term "transcribe," not "use," or "adopt," which seems to me to indicate that I meant to give his very language, and not my own. As to the qualifying term "in substance," it was meant to indicate, first, that I omitted in different places five or six pages of De Wette's view; secondly, that I introduced in two different places (pp. 47 and 51) about half a page of matter of my own, from the old edition; thirdly, that all the illustrations were given in my own version, and not in that of De Wette; and fourthly, that I wished to introduce from the Introduction of the first edition of my book some other illustrations, and some remarks from Dr. Lowth and the poet Campbell. Perhaps my language, "I shall *in substance* transcribe," was not sufficiently precise and explicit. I now perceive that it can be understood to mean what I did not intend. But in view of the preceding facts, a candid judgment will admit that I could have used it only in the sense now explained; that is, for the purpose of indicating that I transcribed De Wette's view, with the modifications above pointed out.

In regard to the use of Professor Torrey's version, I supposed that I made sufficient acknowledgment by referring in the margin to the volume and page of the Biblical Repository which contained it, and not to the original German. If I had had any wish to conceal my obligation to the English version, it would have been as easy for me to refer to the original German as to that. The ludicrous consequences* pointed out by the Reviewer, which seem to follow from the supposition that I adopted De Wette's language, or Torrey's version of it, as my own, will, I hope, afford some indication to those who are acquainted with my writings that I could have had no such intention. Such an intention would imply great folly, as well as dishonesty.

Although I am not expressly charged by the reviewer with any thing more than inadvertence, yet, lest any reader may construe this admission into a mere form of politeness, I beg leave

* The principal one, however, was a mere error of the printers, viz. the insertion of the paragraph, "Sometimes there are triplet parallelisms," etc., with the two following illustrations from the old edition, in the wrong place. Its proper place is on p. 43, six lines from the bottom, before IV.

to advert to the consideration that I could have no motive for wishing to be considered as the translator of the passages borrowed from Professor Torrey's translation. The only conceivable motive for passing off another translation for my own is a desire of being thought able to translate a few pages from the German, or to translate them well. But on pages 19 and 20 I have translated a passage of some length from Eichhorn, and on page 16 a passage from Tholuck, which have never been translated into English by any other writer, so far as I know. In the Introduction to the Book of Job, I examined at some length De Wette's objections to the speech of Elihu, long before his Introduction to the Old Testament had been translated into English. Throughout my Introductions and Notes to the books which I have translated, there are various references to the opinions of German theologians which have never been translated, and occasional translations from their writings, which show that I could have no motive for taking any improper means to produce an impression that I am capable of translating plain German prose. Twelve years ago, too, I wrote an elaborate review of Hengstenberg's Christology in the Examiner, some time before any English translation of it had been published. Any Latin scholar knows whether he would be ambitious of being thought capable of translating a passage from Kuinoel's or Rosenmüller's Commentary on the New Testament, especially if he had repeatedly published translations from the Latin before.

I might also mention some other considerations, such as that there was no concealment in the case; and that the printers and proof-readers will testify that I sent as copy to the press the volume of the Biblical Repository from which my quotations from De Wette were extracted. The principal proof-reader was an excellent scholar, who, as I then supposed, collated the proofs with the copy; though I have since learned that he only read them after they had been collated with copy by another person.

Being about to publish a second edition of the Translation of the Psalms, it occurred to me that I might make it more useful to theological students by inserting in the Introduction more critical matter than in my first edition, which was designed chiefly for the common reader. Not having leisure to elaborate anew my whole Introduction, and having been in the habit of recommending to successive classes of theological students Torrey's Translation of De Wette's Introduction to the Psalms, as the best with which I was acquainted, I thought it expedient to incorporate the more important parts of it with my Introduction. If I had followed the practice of some writers of Introductions in this country, and in Germany too, whom I could mention, I might have elaborated and rearranged what I have borrowed from De

Wette, and have made no reference whatever to his work, or to the translation of it in the Repository. I boldly affirm, what I honestly believe to be true, not from conjecture, but from a somewhat extensive acquaintance with this kind of composition, that in my Introduction to the Psalms I have been more careful to refer to the sources of my information than most writers of Introductions, English, American, or German, since the time of Eichhorn.

In regard to the reviewer's criticisms on my Introduction and Translation, in which he differs in opinion from me, I should not think it important to make any remarks, were it not that I have thus a convenient opportunity for giving the reasons of some of the phraseology which I have adopted in my version of the Psalms. I will begin, however, with the reviewer's criticism on my use of the word "lyric," in the Introduction, p. 5, where I say, that what is called the Hebrew Anthology is "a collection of the lyric, moral, historical, and elegiac poetry of the Hebrews." The reviewer remarks that the term "lyric" applies to all the Psalms, and that therefore there was no occasion for the other epithets. But he does not advert to the consideration, that the term "lyric" is used in two different senses. In one sense it denotes the internal character of a poem, as marked by a highly elevated tone of feeling and a high flight of the imagination. In this sense I used the term. In another passage quoted from De Wette, the term "lyric" is used to denote any poem designed to be accompanied by instrumental music. I use it in the sense in which it is employed by Bishop Lowth, in his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry. In fact, De Wette himself alludes to the two meanings of the term in the extract made from his Introduction. Thus, according to my use of the term, Ps. cxiv. is a striking instance of the lyrical, as Ps. i. is of the moral, Ps. cv. and cvi. of the historical, and Ps. xlii. and lxxxviii. of the elegiac poetry of the Hebrews. There is no inconsistency in my using the word in one sense and De Wette in another.

Another remark of the reviewer relating to my Introduction deserves a passing comment. He says, on page 211, — "In addition to what is derived from De Wette, there are passages expressly cited from Tholuck, Bishop Horne, Milman, Luther, Dr. Durell, Dr. Hammond, and others, amounting to eight or nine pages; so that the original matter does not cover a large part of the Introduction." The reviewer here states nothing but fact; to which I reply, that, if I have in a suitable way brought together or translated the language of eminent saints and critics, to bear witness to the surpassing excellence of the Psalms as a source of spiritual life, or to confirm my own opinions in disputed

matters of great importance, it is a work of value, for which no original speculations, however excellent, by a single individual, would form a satisfactory substitute.

In regard to the reviewer's comments on the expression "very imperfect," which I applied to the common version of the Scriptures, opinions may be various, according to the degree of attention which may have been given to the subject, and the sense in which the expression may be understood. I suppose that any translation of Greek or Roman classics of the same size with the Bible, in which errors of greater or less consequence, generally acknowledged by scholars, were to be reckoned by hundreds, probably amounting to more than one on every page, and in which obscurities and ambiguities were to be found in still greater proportion, to say nothing of inelegancies and expressions needlessly gross, would be generally called "very imperfect." Any such translation of a classical author would soon fall into disuse and be superseded by a better. But nothing which I have said of the imperfection of the common version is inconsistent with the opinion, that confidence may be placed in it, as to the great doctrines and duties of the Jewish and Christian religions. Nor is any thing which I have said inconsistent with the opinion, that this version reflects credit on the translators, considering the time when it was made. What translation of any classic author, made nearly two hundred and fifty years ago, is now in use? It would be singular, if the labors of Hebrew and Greek scholars for so long a space of time had not brought to light something with which the unlearned reader should be made acquainted. Of what use is it that so many learned professors of the Hebrew and Greek are maintained at the public expense, if the great body of the people are never to be the wiser for their labors? Perhaps it would have been as well, therefore, if the epithet "stigmatized" had not been applied by the reviewer to the expression of an honest opinion respecting the imperfection of the common version.

On page 212 the reviewer says that he sees no reason why I should, in my translation of Ps. xviii. 2, 30, substitute the word "shield" for "buckler." Now I submit, that where there is one person who understands the meaning of the term "buckler," there are twenty who know what is meant by the more common word "shield."

Again he says that he prefers "mercy" to "goodness," in Ps. xxxvi. 5. But the original term חֶסֶד generally means *goodness* or *kindness*, without reference to the character of the object as miserable or guilty. In the verse referred to, the connection obviously requires the more general sense of the term.

In respect to my translation of the term יְהוָה sometimes

"Lord" and sometimes "Jehovah," to which the reviewer objects, I have in part explained my views in my Introduction, page 53. I there say,—"As Jehovah is a proper name, and not a mere appellative, like the terms God and Lord, perhaps the strict rules of interpretation require that it should be always translated by the same term. But as the same great Being is denoted, whether his name be translated 'the Lord,' or 'Jehovah,' I have thought it best, in many cases, not to alter the name to which the feelings of the devout have been so long accustomed." Agreeably to these views, in passages not strictly devotional I have retained the exact rendering "Jehovah," as I have used it uniformly in all the other books that I have translated, except the Psalms, which are so much used in devotion. So in the most devotional psalms, where a stress seems to be laid on the proper name of the Deity, such as Ps. xviii. 46, "Jehovah is the living God"; Ps. viii. 1, "O Jehovah, our Lord"; Ps. vii. 1, 3, "O Jehovah, my God"; Ps. xvi. 2, "I have said to Jehovah, Thou art my Lord"; and similar passages, it appears to me that the proper name of the Deity ought to be retained. But to employ it in all cases for the sake of uniformity, without regard to the feelings and associations of the devout, would seem to be unwise.

On page 213, the reviewer objects, that I sometimes translate the Hebrew term שָׁמַיִם "heaven," and sometimes "heavens." I had a reason for it. The phrase, "He that *sitteth* in heaven," Ps. ii. 4, seemed to me more correct and congruous than if the plural had been used. But in Ps. viii. 1, "Set thy glory above the heavens" seems to me, on rhetorical grounds, preferable to "Set thy glory above heaven."

Again, the reviewer objects that I sometimes translate the Hebrew verb רָדַף "persecute" and sometimes "pursue." Is it possible that the reviewer can have overlooked the fact, that the Hebrew term is often used in these significations, and in many others? (See Ges. Lex. *ad verb.*) Is it possible that he has forgotten, that in every language, and especially in a language having so limited a vocabulary as the Hebrew, the same word *must* often be represented by different English words, according to the connection in which it stands, and other considerations? Thus, in the first instance which the reviewer brings forward, in Ps. vii. 5, "Let my adversary pursue and *take* me," every one can see that "persecute" would be improper. But in verse 1, "persecute" seems to me better suited to the connection. So in Ps. lxix. 26, "persecute" seems to be the proper word. So in Job xix. 28. The notion, that every Hebrew word must always be rendered by a single corresponding English term, is altogether indefensible. Thus, in Isaiah v. 11 the word above referred to is properly translated "follow," in the common ver-

sion : — " Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may *follow* strong drink." The reviewer's ideas of " consistency " or " uniformity," if we understand them, and as he has illustrated them in his references to my renderings, would seem to require in this place a denunciation of woe on those who " persecute " or " pursue " strong drink. It may be well enough to mention, that to " run after " or " pursue " is the primary signification of the Hebrew term, from which the rest naturally arose.

Thus in regard to the Hebrew term which I have sometimes rendered " nations," sometimes " kingdoms," sometimes " Gentiles," etc., every one who will consult the passages referred to by the reviewer will see that I had a reason for the variety. " Nations " is no doubt the best rendering except in passages which from their connection require a different one. Thus, in Ps. xviii. 43, to which the reviewer refers, —

> " Thou hast delivered me from the assaults of the nations,
> Thou hast made me the head of the kingdoms," —

having, agreeably to the laws of parallelism, and with the most distinguished critics, regarded עַם as a noun of multitude denoting " nations," I was bound to translate גּוֹיִם by a term as nearly synonymous with " nations " as possible. To have repeated the word would have been rhetorically objectionable. Bishop Lowth in similar circumstances uses " peoples," which I think an objectionable word. But in Ps. x. 16, which I render " The Gentiles shall perish out of his land," that is, the land of Palestine, who does not see that either of the words " nations " or " kingdoms " would have been improper? In some places, where there is particular reference to the religion of foreign nations, for instance, Ps. cvi. 35, to which the reviewer refers, " heathen " is probably the best term to be used, and I have used it.

The reviewer next comments on the term " underworld," which I have used as the translation of the Hebrew שְׁאוֹל, Sheol. I was aware of the objection to the rendering " underworld," as a new word. But the difficulty was, that there was no English term corresponding to the original word. Hence Bishop Lowth in Isaiah xiv. translates the Hebrew " Sheol " by the Greek term " Hades." The reviewer thinks it best to retain the Hebrew " Sheol." The objection to both of them is, that the mere English reader cannot tell what they mean, and in some passages would not know any essential difference between going down to Sheol, or Hades, and going down to Joppa. The reviewer also observes, that he considers the phrase " lower world " better than " underworld." The objection to " lower world " is, that it is often used, in conversation and in books, to distinguish the surface of

the earth, the habitation of living men, from heaven, the dwelling-place of the just made perfect. In several passages ambiguity and error would arise from the use of the phrase "lower world." On the whole, as "underworld," though a new term, is composed of parts which make it universally intelligible, and as it expresses the meaning of the Hebrew word, I still think it the best which is to be had. The term "grave" may be used well enough in some places, but in others it would mislead. It does not convey the exact meaning of the word, namely, a vast subterranean cavern where the spirits of all the dead were supposed by the ancient Hebrews to dwell together in a half-conscious, inactive state. "Hell" expresses an idea which no scholar now believes to be included in the original term.

One more statement of the reviewer invites comment. He says, page 215, — "We observe a frequent change of tenses from the common reading, when no reason for the change is perceptible. As an example, take Ps. xviii. 25–28, where several cases occur in which the future tense of King James's version is altered to the present, without benefit to the sense, and in express opposition to the future tense of the original." The reviewer has in this case, I think, shown inattention to the fact, that what is called the future tense in Hebrew is everywhere used to express general truths, which have no relation to time, — a principle which is laid down in all Hebrew grammars with which I am acquainted.* A familiar instance of the usage referred to is in Prov. x. 1, in the common version, "A wise son maketh a glad father"; where the Hebrew for "maketh glad" is in the future tense. I think this usage occurs in Ps. xviii. 25–28, to which the reviewer refers, and am supported in this opinion by Martin Luther, Kuinoel, De Wette, and others.

I might continue my remarks on other points alluded to by the reviewer, of less importance. But I will only add, that on all of those on which I have not commented he has his opinion and I have mine. The use of "my" in Ps. xviii. 39, and "mine" in verse 48, may, however, be an exception. Some things on which the reviewer has remarked are to be decided by the taste or the ear. For his criticisms I thank him, especially as they have afforded me this opportunity for explaining the grounds of some of my renderings.

Yours respectfully,

GEORGE R. NOYES.

* See Conant's Gesenius's Grammar, p. 249, or his Rödiger's Gesenius, p. 237.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Discourses on the Nature of Religion; and on Commerce and Business; with some Occasional Discourses. By ORVILLE DEWEY, D. D., Pastor of the Church of the Messiah, in New York. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 388.

THIS volume completes the new edition of Dr. Dewey's works. It is composed chiefly of practical discourses, and is thus a continuation of the volume last noticed. We know not where to point to a series of moral and religious writings superior in compass and power to those contained in these three duodecimos. A happy unity connects all the constituent parts. The principles so clearly stated in the first volume are carried out to their practical results in the discourses and orations that fill the second and third volumes.

If we were to state the peculiar charm of Dr. Dewey's style, we should say that it lies in the remarkable combination of colloquial ease with depth of thought, and frequent pathos and solemnity. He is never on stilts, but always perfectly at ease. The last time we listened to him, by one of those associations of ideas that sometimes force themselves upon the mind, his discourse made us think constantly of a majestic forest-tree, its trunk deeply rooted in the earth, its branches spreading a deep and solemn shade, whilst its boughs are swayed gently by the winds, and their leaves play with the breeze.

The volume before us presents specimens of three departments of composition, — sermons upon personal religion, discourses upon business morality, and addresses on various literary and ethical topics. We must confess our preference for the first department. Admirable as the other portions of the volume are, important in their subject and forcible in execution, we could part with them more easily than with the nine sermons that introduce the volume. Dr. Dewey is powerful in all that he does; but his greatness is chiefly in his power as a preacher. When he appeals to the soul before God in the name of Christ, with the sanctions of the Gospel, he takes hold of the heart as few, if any, others now do. Yet we have no disposition to disparage his favorite idea of treating the common secular topics in their moral and religious bearings. The discourses on trade and politics, and the orations on genius, industry, and art, are matchless in their own line, and must live with the permanent literature of the

land. We are not sorry to see that he has modified some of his early views upon the moral law of contracts. We cannot but wish that he had omitted the last paragraph of the discourse on slavery. To educate and free the slaves of the South in order to send them to California is, to say the least, a visionary and unwise scheme. The South needs her agricultural laborers, and Christian humanity requires that all American citizens should have legal rights, and liberty to choose their residence, unless this liberty is forfeited by crime. A moral movement strong enough to educate the slaves for California would be strong enough to secure their safe emancipation at home. May such a movement come!

No respectable American library can be without Dr. Dewey's volumes. Wherever his views are peculiarly his own, they are stated with a force and candor that must win the respect alike of theologian and reformer. O.

Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, with Remarks on the Commentaries of Dr. McKnight, Professor Moses Stuart, and Professor Tholuck. By ROBERT HALDANE, ESQ. From the fifth Edinburgh Edition. New York: R. Carter. 8vo. pp. 746.

THIS work, from its having gone through five editions in Scotland, and been thought worth reprinting in this country, appears to have met an existing demand. The author is a believer in plenary verbal inspiration. "We should never forget," he says, "that, when we are explaining any expression of Scripture, we are treating of what are the very words of the Holy Ghost, as much as if they had been spoken to us by a voice from heaven. The profane rashness of many critics is much emboldened by the circumstance that men have been employed as the instruments of the Almighty in communicating his revelation. A sort of modified inspiration only is granted to the Scriptures, and they are often treated as the words merely of those who were employed as penmen." He regards the Epistle to the Romans, not as a friendly letter addressed to a particular body of men, primarily designed to answer a local and temporary purpose, and treating the great topics on which it touches in a popular manner, and in their relations to the object the writer had immediately in view, but as a well-digested system of Christian theology. "It is the only part of Scripture which contains a detailed and systematic exhibition of the doctrines of Christianity. The great truths which are embodied and inculcated in every other part of the

Bible are here brought together in a condensed and comprehensive form." He is an old-fashioned Calvinist; and writes partly to counteract the alarming heresies of Professor Stuart. And, finally, he is a "grammar and dictionary" interpreter of the Chalmers school. He thinks that reason must not attempt to modify what is called the plain meaning of the word of God; that is, the meaning which any man's ignorance or prejudice makes plain to him; and so deeply is he convinced of the absolute truth of his own belief, that he is probably unconscious of the slightest exercise of carnal reason in adapting his interpretations to his creed, though he is keenly sensitive and fiercely intolerant of the same act in others. From these elements it is easy to calculate a Commentary on the Romans; and, so far as we have observed his course at several points, he has not been drawn from the path thus indicated by any disturbing forces. The Apostle's eloquent description of the prevalent corruption of the Gentile and the Jewish world, he interprets with as much strictness as if it were a legal document. "The awful blindness and obstinacy of Arians and Socinians, in their explanations, or rather perversions, of the word of God," as exemplified in their interpretations of chap. ix., ver. 5,—"Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever,"—meet with due animadversion. So uncompromising is his adherence to the Calvinistic doctrine of Election, that the whole of the ninth chapter is to him as clear as daylight. He observes, with great simplicity, that "there are few commentators who have not wavered in their explanation of this passage"; but he shows himself entirely superior to such amiable weakness. He makes no attempt to veil or soften the harsh and repulsive features of his theological system. On the contrary, he seems to delight in exhibiting them in all their naked deformity, and calls the adoption, without question, of his interpretation, submission to the word of God. "It is better," he says, "to submit to the word of God on this and every other subject, taking it in its obvious import, than to be deterred from doing so on account of consequences, from the admission of which we may shrink back."

And for such theology as this there is yet a market. Increasing liberality among the Calvinistic denominations has produced a reaction upon a minority who desire to return to the original form and spirit of their faith. To those who occupy this wing of the Orthodox host, the book before us will afford much comfort; and we cannot but hope that with some it may operate as a homœopathic remedy. We do not, of course, allude to its quantity, but to the more recondite principle of that system of medicine, that the drug which produces the disease in a healthy constitution is its proper antidote after it has become

seated. We should suppose that so bald an exposition of a high Calvinistic belief would be enough to make some of its professors pause. P.

Free Thoughts on Protestant Matters. In One Volume. By the Rev. T. D. Gregg, M. A., Chaplain of St. Nicholas Within, Dublin. Second Edition. Dublin. 1847. 12mo. pp. xx. and 452.

These thoughts are free indeed, — far enough from any doctrinal latitudinarianism, — but in a style quite beyond the limits of clerical decorum, to say nothing of Christian temper. Mr. Gregg is full of Irish valor, and shakes his pen at every opponent, as if it were a shillelah, and treads the theological arena as if it were Donnybrook Fair. He calls Peel traitor and apostate, Wellington a mere upper-servant, — a chief man-butcher of the state, Macaulay a blockhead, and Whately a learned curmudgeon. His good opinion of himself is in proportion to his contempt for all who cross his path. He modestly says, — "At the head of all false religions stands Popery. I show how to eradicate it." He says, — "I have completely revolutionized the mode of conducting the Roman Catholic controversy."

The book is written to remove from Ireland the one great evil by one sovereign remedy. Popery is the evil, and the Church of England is the remedy.

The author's position is somewhat peculiar. Although he dedicates his book to the younger D'Israeli, he is no Puseyite, but a Low-Churchman. He regards Joseph Mede as "the profoundest of divines and wisest of men," looks upon the Book of Revelation as the great arsenal of anti-Papal artillery, and finds the Pope of Rome in every ugly beast in the prophecies. He thinks much of Episcopal government, but values it chiefly as a safeguard of doctrinal orthodoxy, and ridicules the Tractarian notion of magical grace transmitted through an official succession. He looks upon the emancipation of the Catholics as the worst of mistakes, as even a heinous sin, and regards the Maynooth grant as a like abomination. He claims for the Protestant Episcopal Church dominion over Ireland, and denounces Papacy as a foul infringement upon the faith and polity which St. Patrick brought to the green isle. Yet, stickler as he is for the English system of united church and state, he expresses much sympathy for the Independent party, quotes Milton with honor, and thinks "that Cromwell should have a statue."

His remedial policy for Ireland would probably set very ill upon the stomach of the nation. He says, as he goes on to state

his six measures of relief, — "Again, then, I cry, Hurrah for radical reform!" His measures are a board of commissioners for regulating and improving the condition of the working classes, another board for colonizing waste lands, the repeal of the poor law, a special board of commissioners for promoting Christian knowledge and discouraging vice, another for the regulation of factory labor, another for the religious instruction of the Irish in their native language. All these measures are to be carried out upon the great idea of the development of the Anglican principle of a united church and state, so far as practicable without resorting to physical force to make proselytes.

With the author of this book we can have very little sympathy, although we are glad to see here and there traces of true humanity through his rough and bullying style. His bark is evidently worse than his bite. We have to thank him for an original, entertaining, and somewhat instructive book. But, alas! poor Ireland needs far other physicians. Simple justice and humanity in her rulers and land-owners would do more than any change of ecclesiastical policy. Let the nominal Christians who control Ireland make more account of the Christ of the New Testament, and less of their creeds and ceremonies, and the good work would be done. A little of the tendency which Mr. Gregg brands as Unitarian sadduceeism would not be amiss among English and Irish lords and prelates. He says, — "Unitarians of all shades, within and without the Church, are eloquent and zealous as to the vast importance of keeping the commandments of God, of studying the chapter on the Mount, and the book of Proverbs." Such Unitarianism never ruined any nation, and never can.

O.

Conversations in Rome: between an Artist, a Catholic, and a Critic. By WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 12mo. 1847. pp. 141.

A Year of Consolation. By MRS. BUTLER, late FANNY KEMBLE. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 136, 171.

MR. CHANNING'S book is a lively, spirited sketch, as it were a line-engraving, of Rome, — Rome as it appears in the world of the imagination and to the eye of thought, as its antique treasures of building and art impress a rich fancy, and the on-goings in its streets strike a keen observation. It is done with as neat a skill to the reader's mind, as to the bodily vision could be the painter's drawings, from different sides, of the "eternal city." There is good judgment shown in our author's taking this threefold po-

sition to examine his many-sided subject. Every page is descriptive, and shows some picturesque section of manners, architecture, the wonders of the canvas or the marble. The merit of the work is not in the profundity of its reflections, or in any earnestness of aim, or important convictions expressed in it; but it is artistical, "Myself," though assuming the part of the Catholic, being apparently in fact more *in* that of the Artist. But, taking it for what it is, instead of asking what it is not, we accept it as a pleasant contribution to our healthful light literature, and question whether so good a portrait of Rome is anywhere else so distinctly presented in so small a frame.

Mrs. Butler's work occupies the same general ground with the "Conversations," but is, in style and character, of a widely different stamp. That, as we have said, is a sketch, well-marked, though superficial. This is a picture glowing with all the varied coloring of genius. In that a few cold strokes clearly disclose the objects of the author's interest, in this they are clothed with the life-like touches which the richest word-painting can command. The former presents continually the artist's hand, the latter overflows with the uncalculating enthusiasm of the heart. That bears but faint traces of any earnest thought or strong sympathy, this is evidently the result of an intensely working mind, suggests, as it records, much reflection, and breathes a warm spirit of humanity. We confess we have been too much interested in and moved by the "Year of Consolation" to join in the harsh criticism which we have seen applied to it. There is perhaps too much exposure of the author's own wounded heart, but the wealth also laid bare of lofty feeling, which has no merely private importance, should be some atonement for the error. And any one who has had deep experiences will know how hard it is to repress the inmost thoughts and emotions they create, and how, even when repressed, these will unconsciously tinge what is meant only for the expression of universal truth. And to us such language as that in the sonnet on page 119 of the second volume needs no excuse for any supposable personality it may contain. It is but the holier and more beautiful therefor. Mrs. Butler uses occasionally terms and epithets which to some may savor of boldness and want of delicacy in a woman. And in truth, with more of the feminine than belongs to most women, there seems to be something of the man, of masculine energy and roughness, in her composition. But a free use of the vocabulary, such as she has made, to give to things their right names is not apt to offend us in any writer, nor does it seem, when we consider it, to be properly the privilege of one sex. At least we will maintain that she has given us a book of imaginative brilliancy, of intellectual power, and of cordial sincerity, if not always of perfect wisdom or good taste. B.

Characteristics of Men of Genius; a Series of Biographical, Historical, and Critical Essays, selected, by permission, chiefly from the North American Review. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 316, 317.

Though the title-page of these volumes contains the name of an American, as well as of a London, publishing firm, the selection was made by the English editor, and the work printed in London. Three of the Essays are taken from the Dial, the rest from the North American Review. In making the selection, the editor, as he informs us in his Preface, has endeavoured to secure a sort of "unity," confining himself within a certain range of topics treated with a degree of "similarity," though bearing the stamp of the "different individualities of the writers." The articles are distributed into four groups, the first embracing "Ecclesiastics," of whom we have three, — Gregory the Seventh, Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, and Blaise Pascal; the second, "Poets," comprising Dante, Petrarch, Milton, Shelley, Lord Byron, Goethe, Scott, Wordsworth, and the "Poets of Germany"; the third, "Artists," — Michael Angelo and Canova; the fourth, "Statesmen," — Machiavelli, Louis the Ninth, and Peter the Great. Undoubtedly there are articles in the different journals of our country which possess merit superior to that of some of the "Essays" here given; yet, taking into view the professed "guiding principle" of the compiler, we should say that the pieces were well chosen and the arrangement good, and as our Reviews are comparatively little read in England, the publication, as stated in the Preface, will there appear a "complete novelty." L.

A Dedication to Woman. Being Discourses delivered to the Unitarian Society, Newhall Hill, Birmingham. By John Green. London: J. Chapman. 1847. 12mo. pp. 184.

Discourses full of the Christian spirit, serious, affectionate, Scriptural, — the first two delivered on Easter Sunday, and treating of the resurrection and ascension of Jesus, — the third "occasioned by the death of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr.," giving evidence how wide was the influence he exerted, and how deep the regret felt at his early removal, abroad as well as at home, — the fourth a Christmas sermon, — the next two on the "Education of Woman," — the seventh on "Nonconformity and Moral Reformation," — and the eighth on "Persecution and Christianity," having reference to the "Lady Hewley Appeal." That the earnest desire expressed by the author in the Preface, that

the publication may do good, will be fulfilled, we cannot doubt. We like the dedication of the volume to "Woman," to whose quick sensibilities and kindling sympathies religion never appeals in vain. L.

The Silent Pastor; or Consolations for the Sick. By THOMAS SADLER, Ph. D. London: Chapman, Brothers. 1847. 12mo. pp. 128.

THIS little volume consists of a discourse, or short treatise, on "the Christian View of Sickness," which is truly Christian, of prayers, several of which are taken from the old divines, a selection from the Psalms, and twenty-seven hymns, several of which, possessing peculiar merit, will, we doubt not, be new to most readers of the manual. The author speaks like one who has had experience on the subject of which he treats, — speaks, we should say, from a full heart, — and has furnished a companion for the sick room which will meet a want often felt, of something to "soothe, purify, and elevate the mind" in hours of weariness and pain. L.

The Church Member's Manual of Ecclesiastical Principles, Doctrine, and Discipline; presenting a Systematic View of the Structure, Polity, Doctrines, and Practices of Christian Churches, as taught in the Scriptures. By WILLIAM CROWELL. With an Introductory Essay by HENRY J. RIPLEY, D. D. Boston: Gould, Kendall, & Lincoln. 1847. 12mo. pp. 276.

THIS book places the Baptist denomination before the public, in many respects, in a favorable light. That portion of it which treats of the organization and discipline of churches, which it represents as based on the free principles of Congregationalism, commends itself as reasonable and Christian. In regard to the formation, rights, and duties of a church, and the appointment, authority, and functions of ministers, the views it offers are such, in the main, as we should suppose an intelligent person, who had never heard of bishops, priests, and a divinely appointed succession, would derive from the reading of the New Testament. That part which relates to doctrines and usages peculiar to Baptists will be found interesting and useful to them, and will afford desirable information to others. Such a book was wanted; and the truly catholic spirit in which it is written will undoubtedly contribute to its circulation. M.

Historical Annals of Dedham, from its Settlement in 1635 *to* 1837. By Herman Mann. Dedham: H. Mann. 1847. 8vo. pp. 136.

This is a modest performance, written, as such works should be, in a plain and simple style, and embodying a great deal of information, valuable as illustrating the character and habits of the early settlers of New England, and especially interesting to those in any way connected with the place to which it relates. It is the fruit of much research among old as well as more recent records, and its fidelity in regard to facts and dates, we believe, may be implicitly relied on. L.

Poems. By George H. Calvert. Boston: William D. Ticknor & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 125.

These poems rise to about the average merit of the poetry of the day. The good conceptions in them are not often expressed in the best taste. Indeed, the imaginative faculty in our author does not seem equal to a just embodiment of his sometimes vigorous sentiment. His translations we like better than his originals. The execution in the former rises more above mediocrity, and shows signs of spirit and power. B.

The Peace Manual; or, War and its Remedies. By George C. Beckwith. Boston: American Peace Society. 1847. 18mo. pp. 252.

This Manual contains, in a condensed and convenient form, the most important facts and arguments on the "physical evils of war," the "moral evils of war," and the "remedies for war." Its author, the well-known Secretary of the American Peace Society, is a temperate as well as decided advocate of the great cause of peace, confining himself strictly to the question of international war, and offering a cumulative argument against it of the fairest and strongest kind. Useful at all times, such an argument cannot fail to be particularly so at this crisis. H.

Memoirs of Madame de Staël, and of Madame Roland. By L. Maria Child, Author of Philothea, etc. A new Edition, revised and enlarged. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 248.

THIS reprint, which forms the thirteenth number of Francis & Co.'s "Cabinet Library of Choice Prose and Poetry," requires no other notice from us than the bare mention of its title, the merits of the work being already fully known and appreciated.

L.

The Claim of Ireland. A Sermon delivered in Renshaw Street Chapel, Liverpool, March 7, 1847. *With an Appendix on the Fast.* By JOHN HAMILTON THOM. London. 1847. 12mo. pp. 44.

Sermon on the Death of the Rev. J. Johns, Minister to the Poor in Liverpool, occasioned by Fever contracted in his Attendance on the destitute Sick, preached in Renshaw Street Chapel, on Sunday, July 4, 1847. By the Rev. J. H. THOM. Liverpool. 1847. 12mo. pp. 12.

A Discourse on the Necessity of Providing an Enlightened Education for the Christian Ministry; with some Observations on the Comparative Merits of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and other Places of Collegiate Instruction. By EDMUND KELL, M. A. London. 1846. 8vo. pp. 30.

Doing before Believing. A Discourse delivered at the Anniversary of the Derby Academy, in Hingham, May 19, 1847. By W. H. FURNESS, Pastor of the First Congregational Unitarian Church in Philadelphia. New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

The Son of Man Cometh. A Discourse preached before the Society of the Cambridgeport Parish, Sunday, May 30, 1847. By WILLIAM H. FURNESS, Pastor of the Unitarian Society, Philadelphia. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 22.

Hereditary Depravity (the Condition of Man) involving no Personal Guilt. A Sermon preached at Sherburne, June 6, 1847. By R. C. STONE, Pastor of the First Congregational Church (Unitarian), Sherburne. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1847. 8vo. pp. 12.

A Discourse delivered in the First Church in Boston, before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, June 7, 1847, *being the CCIXth Anniversary.* By WILLIAM P. LUNT, Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Quincy. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 35.

Two Sermons preached in the First Church in Plymouth, Mass., Sunday, July 4, 1847. By GEORGE W. BRIGGS. Plymouth. 8vo. pp. 31.

The Minister and the Age. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. Frederick R. Newell, as an Evangelist, in the Meetinghouse of the Cambridgeport Parish, August 1, 1847. By Rev. Rufus P. Stebbins, of Meadville, Penn. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 24.

An Oration delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, at the Celebration of the Declaration of Independence, July 5, 1847. By Thomas G. Cary. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 38.

A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism; an Appeal to the Common-sense of all who like Truth better than Error. By Frederick Munch. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1847. 12mo. pp. 88.

In his sermon preached in behalf of the Irish, for whom contributions were made in the chapels of Liverpool, Mr. Thom traces the present condition of Ireland, alike in its physical and its social aspects, to the treatment which for seven centuries she has received from England. By a series of historical references, chosen with discrimination and presented with striking effect, he shows that "the nation which appeals to our compassions is not voluntarily wedded to weakness, and of her own will sunk for ever in moral death." In his remarks on the fast appointed by the government on account of the famine, he exposes the false and immoral views of the Divine Providence involved in the idea, that this particular calamity is a judgment upon the nation for its general iniquity, rather than a natural consequence of the special sins of certain classes. — His discourse on the death of the late excellent and beloved minister to the poor in Liverpool seems to us like the unstudied, and yet admirably couched, expression of the feelings which must have been awakened in the supporters of a mission that had proved so costly. In them and in himself Mr. Thom seeks to deepen the convictions of faith and duty which may still sustain the work to which their friend "gave all that he had, even his own life." — Along with the above we are happy also to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Kell's appropriate discourse, delivered in London, "on occasion of the annual collection for the Academy connected with the Old General Baptists," and afterwards to his own congregation at Newport, Isle of Wight, "in behalf of the Manchester New College." The remarks on the state of Oxford and Cambridge are undoubtedly called for, though they will probably be little heeded in quarters whence a remedy to existing evils and abuses must come, if it come at all. The notices, in part historical, of the Institution founded in 1794, by the "Unitarian or Old General Baptists"; of University College, London; of the academy

"known as Coward College, so long formerly under the care of the Rev. T. Belsham," now removed to the vicinity of University College; and of Manchester New College, add greatly to the value of the pamphlet. — Mr. Furness, in his Derby lecture, maintains that there is an insensible education of the heart continually going on under the laws of Providence, and that this is better than the education of the intellect, better than opinions; "suffering and oppressed humanity" is awakening men's sympathies, is "beginning to pierce through the thick walls of sectarianism"; thus, and "in all ways," God is "showing" to man "what is good" (part of the text); doing goes before believing. Such, so far as it can be stated in few words, which give no idea of the richness of language and glowing expression of the original, is the general strain of the lecture, which concludes with a forcible appeal to a sense of justice and mercy in the hearers on the subjects of war and slavery. — The doctrine of the discourse concerning the Coming of the Son of Man is, not that Christ is to come especially in the "judgment hour of the individual," or hour of death, but he comes with the "truth of God speaking" in our hearts, "discoursing of those things which belong to our eternal peace"; if we open our hearts and are on the watch, always "ready for the coming of truth," it will come and dwell with us and in us, revealing to us "a new beauty," and leading us farther and farther "into the kingdom of heaven." The application is here again made to the subjects of war and slavery. — Mr. Stone does not suppose that the "constitutional tendencies of man are entirely evil," but that the "moral constitution" of the race was changed by the "first sin," and so "hereditary depravity" may be affirmed of all the descendants of Adam; a doctrine which it is the purpose of his discourse to sustain and illustrate. — All parties will not be pleased with the whole of Mr. Lunt's Artillery Election discourse, yet none will deny that it has the merit of vigorous thought, and is open, manly, and independent. "Force, Reason, Love," are his topics, — the first represented by "the military," the second expressing itself in law, understood in the largest sense, and the third constituting the "foundation principle of Christianity." The first is the lowest agent or principle, the second rises above it, and the third is the highest of all; though all are legitimate, and, in the present condition of the world, necessary. Their several provinces and relations are clearly defined and illustrated by Mr. Lunt, who brings to the support of his views arguments drawn from the general constitution of human nature and from history. — Mr. Briggs, in his Fourth of July sermons, following "the gush of feeling more than logical rule," speaks in his usual fresh and glowing style of the great Christian law of love, and with it com-

pares the action of our Revolutionary fathers, which he cannot wholly approve in regard to slavery, and the action of the nation at the present day, which is far more indefensible: all great and noble works, however, he says, proceed by gradual and slow steps, and we must not lose patience, but, while we do not cease to labor for particular reforms, must do our best to purify the world from that "general selfishness" in which, lying "deeper" than "laws," slavery and war have their origin. The sermons are such as befitted the day. — Mr. Stebbins's sermon presents us with a specimen of plain, strong preaching. We like its doctrines, in the main, respecting the authority of Christ and the demands of the present age upon the ministry; its earnestness, sincere and direct, without a particle of fanaticism; its style, clear yet ornate. Now and then, under each head of discourse, we fall upon a statement that we should hesitate to accept in an unmitigated form, but the concluding remarks contain ample qualification of what precedes. We should rejoice if there were more such preaching. We must enter our protest, however, against Mr. Stebbins's method of making up a text, by fragments of verses arranged to suit his purpose; any thing may be made out of Scripture in this way.

Mr. Cary's oration is marked by a high tone of moral feeling, which he brings to the discussion of different questions possessing a peculiar interest at the present moment, — as the Mexican war, with the policy and acts which led to it, danger to the Union, and, incidentally, slavery and others. Such attestations to the principles of a sound patriotism and an immutable morality, uttered on an occasion of such deep significance to the whole American people as the return of their great national festival for Independence, are encouraging symptoms, and cannot prove wholly fruitless. — Mr. Munch's pamphlet should not have been called a "Treatise." It is a *statement* rather of the views of the "German rationalists," — or we might say, perhaps, a sort of panegyrical oration upon them, — quite thorough-going, stripping Christianity wholly of the miraculous and supernatural, and indulging in visions of the "good and beautiful" results which are to attend the final triumph of "Reason." The author does not appear to be overburdened with modesty, and would do well to write with a little more discrimination. The impression left on the mind of the unlearned reader of the pamphlet, if such it finds, would be, that the German rationalists, Paulus, Strauss, and the rest, are all of one *mind* as well as one *heart*, — that all critical questions are now, at last, settled to the satisfaction of all but a few "superstitious old fools." We apprehend that it is not exactly so. We do not think that much harm or much good will come from the publication.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — The number of ministerial changes which it falls to us now to notice is even larger than usual; — some occasioned by the feeble health of the late incumbents; others, as we learn, by inattention or inability on the part of congregations in regard to the minister's salary. Both these causes, and all causes which produce a speedy dissolution of the pastoral tie, we lament, though complaint and grief are of little avail. — Rev. Dr. Dewey has relinquished all care of the church of the Messiah in New York, carrying out in full an arrangement partially adopted a year since; but will preach to the congregation three months in the winter. The society are anxious to settle a successor. — Rev. Mr. Lord of Milwaukie, Wis., has retired from the ministry; the congregation do not, however, wish to dispose of their meetinghouse, as has been gratuitously asserted in one of the religious journals of the day, but are seeking a future supply of their pulpit. — Rev. Mr. Palfrey has closed his connection with the church in Barnstable. — Rev. Mr. Moseley has resigned his charge of the church in Scituate. — Rev. Mr. Kinsley has left the people at Marshfield. — Rev. Mr. Gale has left Norton. — Rev. Mr. Farley has closed his engagement at Norwich, Conn. — Rev. Mr. Rice has left Mendon. — Rev. Mr. Fosdick of Boston has given notice to the Hollis Street society that he shall terminate his connection with them at the expiration of six months. — Rev. Mr. Niles, recently pastor of the Second Unitarian society in Lowell, has, since the appearance of our last number, resigned his ministry in that place, been installed over the First Congregational church in Belfast, Me., and, by a most unexpected providence, been called away from all earthly labors to service in a higher world.

In contrast with such examples of the mutability of clerical life in this country, we copy a paragraph which has met our eye in the London Inquirer for July 3, 1847. Mr. Turner resigned the charge of the pulpit at Newcastle a few years ago, and had previously been aided by a colleague, but his strength till old age was given to the people with whom he had settled in his youth.

"Rev. William Turner. This venerable gentleman, now in the 86th year of his age, officiated once more, on Sunday week, in his old pulpit in Hanover-Square Chapel, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, which he first occupied in the year 1782! He used no spectacles, nor had his voice lost any thing of its wonted force or fulness. We have before stated, we believe, that Mr. Turner is the son and grandson, father and grandfather, of a Nonconformist minister."

We hear of the establishment of Unitarian preaching where it has not before been maintained, as well as of its interruption in some other places in consequence of the loss of a minister or other temporary circumstances. There is now preaching every Sunday in the new town of Lawrence on the Merrimac, and in Upton, Mass.; and arrangements are in progress that will probably produce a similar result in West

Newton and in Melrose, both near Boston. — The efforts of the Unitarian society in Hartford, Conn., to place themselves beyond all financial embarrassment deserve honorable mention. Being burdened by a debt incurred by the erection of their meetinghouse, they proposed to raise $10,000 among themselves for its reduction, $8000 of which, when we last heard, were already secured, and probably the whole at this time; besides a further subscription of $2300 for the purchase of an organ. — The meetinghouse which the congregation under the care of Rev. Mr. Waterston are building in Bedford Street in this city is nearly completed, and will be dedicated in a few weeks. — The meetinghouse into which the society now worshipping in Purchase Street will remove, on the corner of Harrison Avenue and Beach Street, is rapidly advancing towards its completion. The corner-stone of this edifice was laid on the 3d of May, when the services were conducted by Rev. Mr. Coolidge. — The Indiana Street Congregational society, formerly "the Church of the Warren Street Chapel," are also proceeding in the erection of their house of worship; the corner-stone of which was laid June 17, the services being conducted by Rev. Messrs. Fox, Huntington, and Barnard.

We are glad to learn that the foundation of a ministry at large has been laid in Salem, Mass. Through the munificence of a lady of that city, Mr. John Ball, a layman long devoted to the improvement of the condition of the poor, has been employed to visit the friendless and destitute, with a particular view to aiding them in the care and training of their children. The result of his labors, we learn, is such as gives proof of their value. — Mr. Peter Betsch, late of the Meadville Theological School, has, in consequence of a physical infirmity which, he fears, would hinder his usefulness as a preacher, undertaken the work of a *colporteur* in Western Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States. It will be his object to sell or bestow Unitarian books and pamphlets, with other valuable works, in that part of the country. Other persons, we are told, contemplate engaging in the same employment in other sections of the Union.

Meadville Theological School. — The Anniversary Exercises at the close of the third year since the commencement of this institution were attended in the Chapel of Divinity Hall on Thursday, July 1, 1847; an examination of the several classes in the studies of the past year having taken place on the previous day, and the anniversary sermon having been preached in the evening by Elder J. E. Church. The Dissertations were read by members of the Middle and Senior classes, as follows: — *Middle Class:* "Advantages of the Study of Ecclesiastical History," — Charles M. Taggart, Ky.; "Martin Luther," — Rush R. Shippen, Pa.; "English Versions of the Bible," — Noah Michael, Ohio; "Christ a Dependent Being," — Samuel McKown, Ohio; "1 John v. 7," — Evan W. Humphrey, Ohio; "The Samaritan Pentateuch," — James Elliott, Ohio; "Sunday Schools," William Cushing, Mass.; "The Character of Balaam," — Alvin Coburn, Vt.; "Peter's Sermon on the Day of Pentecost," — Nathaniel O. Chaffee, Mass.; "Religious Liberty," — Liberty Billings, Me.; "Critical Editions of the Greek Testament," — Stillman Barber, Mass. *Senior Class:* "The Characteristics of Effective Preaching," — Daniel Boyer, Pa.; "Piety in a Minister," — Peter Betsch, N. Y.; "Moral Reforms and the Ministry," — George S. Ball, Mass.

The exhibition appears to have given gratification to all who were present. The condition of the School is in the highest degree satisfactory. There has been a constant increase of pupils. The first year there were only nine; the second year, twenty-three; the third year, thirty-two; and there is reason to expect that the three classes next year will contain forty. The Library has also been steadily increased. The present number of volumes, many of them very valuable, is 3000; besides 1200 volumes of text-books. The institution is free from debt, and, through the liberality of its friends, is gradually accumulating funds for the endowment of professorships and the erection of suitable buildings. It has received an act of incorporation from the legislature of Pennsylvania, is placed by this charter under the care of a Board of Trustees, and in respect to both its literary and financial interests appears to be under efficient management.

Cambridge Divinity School. — The thirty-first Annual Visitation of the Divinity School of Harvard University took place on Friday, July 16, 1847. The exercises were attended in the College Chapel, President Everett presiding. Prayers were offered by Professors Francis and Noyes, and three, of four, hymns written for the occasion by members of the graduating class, were sung by the class. The number of graduates this year was twelve; one of them, however, Mr. William A. P. Dillingham, to whom had been assigned as the subject of his dissertation — "Justice and Mercy in the Divine Character," was necessarily absent. The other performances were as follows: — "Has Christianity the Elements of a System?" — Mr. William R. Alger; "Milton as a Theologian," — Mr. Rufus H. Bacon; "What constitutes one a Christian Minister?" — Mr. Samuel F. Clark; "The Vehement and Calm Modes of Preaching compared," — Mr. Oliver J. Fernald; "The Origin and Character of Allegorical Interpretation," — Mr. Arthur B. Fuller; "The Clergy and Reform," — Mr. Thomas W. Higginson; "The Bible and Science," — Mr. Henry J. Hudson; "The Design and Character of the Epistle to the Hebrews," — Mr. Francis B. Knapp; "Christ's Treatment of Sin," — Mr. Frederick N. Knapp; "The Religion of Forms and the Religion of Faith," — Mr. George Osgood; "The Preacher's Views of Sin, as affecting his Preaching," — Mr. Grindall Reynolds. The number of persons present at these exercises was larger than in former years, the chapel being entirely filled. We regret only one circumstance in the arrangements made for this annual Visitation. We wish that the nature of the subjects assigned, or the treatment of them by the writers, permitted more evidence to be given of the professional learning acquired in the School. If a larger number of the dissertations were strictly theological in their character, the exhibition would approach more nearly to what we conceive it should be.

After the usual dinner in Harvard Hall, the Alumni of the School met for the annual business, the attendance before the public exercises having been too small to allow of its transaction then. Rev. Convers Francis, D. D., was chosen *President* of the Association, in the place of Dr. Noyes, who declined a reëlection; Rev. Ralph Sanger, *Vice-President;* Rev. Chandler Robbins, *Secretary;* Rev. Messrs. Newell, Muzzey, and Ware, *Committee of Arrangements.* Rev. Mr. Robbins of

Boston offered a resolution expressing the sense entertained by his brethren of the gifts and virtues and services of the late Rev. W. B. O. Peabody, D. D., which was unanimously adopted by the Alumni rising. Rev. George W. Burnap of Baltimore, Md., was chosen Second Preacher for the next year. Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, who would in course be First Preacher, asked leave to resign the appointment, in consequence of his probable absence from this part of the country. After one unsuccessful balloting, it was voted that Mr. Burnap be considered as First Preacher, and Dr. Parkman Second Preacher, for the year 1848. The meeting was then dissolved, as the hour had arrived for the delivery of the Annual Address before the Alumni; which was given by Rev. George R. Noyes, D. D., of Cambridge, on the Causes of the Alleged Decline of Interest in Critical Theology.

The Annual Discourse before the graduating class of the Divinity School was delivered on Sunday evening, July 11, 1847, by Rev. Mr. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., from Romans xii. 2.

Ordinations and Installations. — Rev. Seth Saltmarsh, of Hartford, Conn., was ordained over the Unitarian Society in Windsor, Vt., July 28, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston, from 1 Corinthians i. 2; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Crosby of Charlestown, N. H.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Barrett of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Ware of Cambridge; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Pope of Kingston; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Forbes of Chester, Vt., Pope of Kingston, and Newell of Pomfret, Vt.

Rev. Frederick Richards Newell, a graduate of the Meadville Theological School, was ordained as an Evangelist (with a view to his preaching for the present in Pomfret, Vt.) in the meetinghouse of the Cambridgeport Parish, on Sunday evening, August 1, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Stebbins of Meadville, from 2 Timothy iv. 2, 3, 4; iii. i, 5; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Newell of Cambridge; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Whitney of Brighton, and Clarke of Boston.

Rev. Mark A. H. Niles, late of Lowell, was installed over the First Congregational Society in Belfast, Me., August 11, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, from 1 Timothy i. 15; the Prayer of Installation was offered by Rev. Mr. Cole of Hallowell, Me.; the Right Hand of Fellowship was given by Rev. Mr. Judd of Augusta, Me.; the Charge, by Rev. Mr. Wheeler of Topsham, Me.; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Wheeler and Judd.

Rev. George Murillo Bartol, of Portland, Me., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Pastor of the First Congregational Church and Society in Lancaster, Mass., August 11, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bartol of Boston, from John xiv. 6; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Allen of Northboro'; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Thayer of Beverly; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. White of Littleton, Hale of Worcester, and Frothingham of Salem.

Rev. George Faber Clark, of Dublin, N. H., a graduate of the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as an Evangelist (with a special view to his preaching in Charlemont and the immediate vicinity) at Charlemont, Mass., August 11, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Gray of Boston, from 2 Timothy iii. 7; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Field of Charlemont; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Brown of Brattleboro', Vt.; the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Mr. M'Intyre of Brattleboro', Vt.; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Everett of Northfield, Nightingale of Cabotville, and Stearns of Rowe.

Dedication. — The meetinghouse erected by the Unitarian Society of Ware, Mass., was dedicated June 30, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg, from Genesis xxviii. 17; the Dedicatory Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester; and the other services were conducted by Rev. Messrs. Nute and Wilson, of Petersham, and Tilden of Concord, N. H.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Harvard University. — The annual Commencement at Cambridge was attended on Wednesday, August 25, 1847, when sixty-one members of the Senior class were graduated. Besides the degrees of A. M., M. D., and LL. B. granted in course, the honorary degree of A. M. was conferred on Mr. Evangelinus A. Sophocles, Mr. Henry W. Torrey, and Professor Eben N. Horsford, of Cambridge, and Rev. Frederick T. Gray of Boston; that of S. T. D. on President Woolsey of Yale College, Rev. Emerson Davis of Westfield, Rev. Samuel Barrett of Boston, and Rev. William H. Furness of Philadelphia; and that of LL. D. on Henry Holland, M. D., of London, Professor Edward T. Channing, and Professor William Kent, of Cambridge, Hon. Peleg Sprague of Boston, Hon. John B. Gibson of Pennsylvania, Hon. John T. Lomax of Virginia, and Hon. Timothy Farrar of New Hampshire. On Thursday the usual declamation for the Boylston prizes took place, and the annual Oration was delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society by Hon. George P. Marsh of Burlington, Vt.

The University was never so completely furnished as now with the means of giving to students the various and thorough culture which such an institution should afford. The Theological Department, indeed, is still supplied with an inadequate number of Professors. The Medical Department has recently been enlarged by the creation of two new Professorships, filled by John B. S. Jackson, M. D., and Oliver W. Holmes, M. D. Dr. Warren having resigned the chair of instruction which he had held for forty years, Jeffries Wyman, M. D., has succeeded him as Professor of Anatomy. A new Medical College was erected the last winter in Boston, where the lectures of this Department are attended. The Law School the last term had 102 students in attendance, under the care of Professor Greenleaf and Kent. A new Department of the University has been established, designed as "an advanced School of Science and Literature"; and the Corporation have been enabled to organize this Department at once through the liberality

of Hon. Abbott Lawrence of Boston, who has given $50,000 for this object, and in consequence of whose donation it has received the name of the Lawrence Scientific School of the University at Cambridge. Its special purpose will be to provide instruction in theoretical and practical science beyond what can be given in the usual collegiate course, and with it will be connected the Professorships now existing in the University that relate to these branches of study, with others to be hereafter established. A building for the uses of this Department will be immediately erected on the north side of the "Common." The vacant chair of the Rumford Professorship has been filled by the choice and acceptance of Eben N. Horsford A. M. The Observatory now contains the large telescope lately received from Europe. The Library of the University, including the books deposited in the Divinity, Law, and Medical Colleges, contains 67,000 volumes. The advantages which are offered to young men at Cambridge, it is therefore much within the truth to say, are not surpassed at any similar institution in the country.

New England Colleges. — Our New England Colleges appear, almost without exception, to be in a flourishing and advancing condition. Yale College, having lost the services of the excellent and venerable Dr. Day, who, after presiding over the institution for twenty-nine years with almost unexampled success, retired in consequence of his own rather than others' perception of his failing strength, has been fortunate in electing to his place so accomplished a scholar as President Woolsey. Three new Professorships have been established by the Corporation, and a Scientific Department created, similar to that of which we have just spoken as organized at Cambridge. Williams College, under the Presidency of Dr. Hopkins, aided by the small but efficient body of professors who coöperate with him, has already obtained a prominent position among our higher seminaries. This institution is greatly indebted to the liberality of Amos Lawrence, Esq., of Boston, whose donations, for the erection of buildings and the endowment of Professorships, have exceeded $20,000. Amherst College, although it has met with a severe loss in the death of Professor Fiske, is emerging from its temporary eclipse, and promises, under President Hitchcock, to deserve the commendation of its friends. Brown University maintains the rank to which it has been raised by the ability of its distinguished President. Its library has lately received important accessions. Bowdoin has secured a good reputation both for learning and liberality under President Woods. At Dartmouth a Professorship of Natural Philosophy was established a year since, through a donation of $10,000 from Samuel Appleton, Esq., of Boston. Upon application of the Trustees of the College at Hartford, Conn., founded and patronized by Episcopalians, the legislature of the State about a year since sanctioned the absurdity or impiety — for one or the other to our ears it is — of changing the name of Washington to Trinity College. A novel feature, for an American college, has been introduced into the organization of this institution. A body called the "House of Convocation" has been constituted, as one branch of the "Senatus Academicus," of which the Trustees form the other branch. This body is composed, as we understand the plan, of all the Alumni of the college, but of its precise powers we are not informed.

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

NOVEMBER, 1847.

E. H. 76a 11.

Art. I. — MADAME GUYON.*

Professor Upham has rendered another valuable service to the literary and religious world, by the publication of the volumes named below. They are not a compilation, but a new and carefully prepared memoir of Madame Guyon, drawn partly from her Autobiography, the whole of which has never appeared in English, and which is here used in connection with other sources of information, illustrated by passages from all her writings. Nor do they consist of a mere literal translation, either of the Autobiography or the miscellaneous writings. Professor Upham has performed the laborious task of presenting the woman and her opinions in his own language, from a careful study of her voluminous works, which make in French no less than forty volumes; attempting, "by studying their spirit, by readjusting their arrangement, by the separation of what is essential and what is not essential, and by a judicious combination, to give the true picture, so far as can now be done, of what she was, her thought, her feeling and action, her trials and triumphs."

Madame Guyon is often introduced in the first person, detailing her own experience or explaining her views. The passages thus given, which make a large portion of the work,

* *Life and Religious Opinions and Experience of Madame de la Motte Guyon; together with some Account of the Personal History and Religious Opinions of Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1847. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 431, 380.

are distinguished by quotation marks, and we only regret to learn from the Preface, what many readers may not observe, and would not suppose, that these passages, presented as quotations, are not in the precise words of the writer, but an "*interpreted* translation; a translation of the spirit rather than the letter." This may have been necessary in order to condense so much within so small a space, and to connect and illustrate the many facts and opinions which are loosely thrown together in the original Life. We believe the work has been done as thoroughly and as candidly as it could well be. Still it is a difficult and a hazardous task. Every writer would prefer to speak in his own words, when he is represented as speaking in the first person, and explaining his own views; and every reader would prefer that he should. This is the only objection that we think will be made, or can fairly be made, to the present work. With our knowledge of the author, it does not lessen our confidence or our interest. We reserve, of course, the right to translate or interpret for ourselves, and we do not forget either the vagueness of words, or the unconscious and unavoidable bias of an interpreter's doctrinal views; especially as we have one or two strong intimations of these views. But these intimations are altogether fewer than we should have expected from any one. We regard the work as not only honorable to the writer, but every way valuable, a work demanded by the greatness of the subject, and sure to be useful to all earnest readers. We have read it with intense interest. We cannot conceive that any one can read it without religious instruction and impression. It compels the mind to turn in upon itself. It brings out our own secret or slighted errors and sins. It kindles pure and very high aspirations. It gives a better view than has been commonly entertained, and yet we think a correct view, of one of the most remarkable women of her own or any age. And we shall be greatly surprised, if it do not aid the spiritual life of multitudes, irrespectively of opinions, and quicken the desire, too low and languid in the Christian Church, of rising nearer the Christian mark of true spirituality and pure love.

That the doctrine of "Pure Love," as held by Madame Guyon and Fenelon, has been much misapprehended, we have always thought, but never saw so clearly as in this work. Rightly viewed, and as these writers themselves seem to us to have really regarded it, with all their exaggeration of

phrase, it is no other than the doctrine of Christ and the Gospel, given in the two great laws of loving God with *all* the heart, and loving our neighbour *as ourselves*. It is easy to call this enthusiasm, and when expressed in any other language than that of the Gospel, or even then, if urged and carried out in any practical application, it always has been called enthusiasm, or worse. In Madame Guyon, it has been considered fanaticism, but never, we believe, in Fenelon. Yet Fenelon was almost her disciple in this doctrine, he was her avowed defender through life, he suffered with her for the reputed heresy, and differed from her in no essential that we can find. Why, then, the wide difference in popular estimation? Partly, perhaps, from the natural difference of the sexes in the indulgence and expression of sentiment, partly from the unwillingness of every Church, not least the Roman, to be reproved or instructed by a woman, and partly from admitted errors and extravagances in this particular case. Every one sees that Madame Guyon made mistakes and fell into extravagance in her early period of emotion and instruction, as seen particularly in her Autobiography. It is unfortunate that this work, from which most opinions have been and will be formed of her, was written at the suggestion and direction of her spiritual counsellor, not from her own desire; and that she was induced to write down every thing that occurred to her mind or experience, contrary to her own wishes, and with no idea that the record thus made would ever be given to the public. It is, in fact, a mere diary, written hastily, and exhibiting all her weaknesses. That those weaknesses have been marked and magnified, we are not surprised. They are of a kind to incite unfair notice. A natural vanity, which once spent itself upon personal charms, was not soon or ever wholly destroyed. Traces of it may be seen in her recital of peculiar mental and spiritual experiences, of remarkable success in all attempts to convince and convert others, and even of unaccountable business powers given her whenever wanted. This form of self-complacency, so common to such temperaments, and running often into a superstitious faith in a personal providence, may account for the prevailing idea of her character as that of a mere visionary. But the weakness, though real, has been greatly exaggerated. Her enemies would of course make the most and the worst of it. They seized upon every unguarded expression or unwise illustration which her free thought and fertile fancy suggested.

Some of these were ludicrous, and have been repeated and enlarged in every sketch we have seen of her life, to the exclusion of all that would explain or redeem.

Other extenuating facts are to be remembered, if we would do her common justice. Before she was sixteen, this enthusiastic girl, whose powers and appearance had made a sensation in the best circles of Paris, was married, by her father's choice, not her own, to a man of thirty-eight, whom she had seen but a few days, and between whom and herself there were no affinities. With this man, M. Guyon, and his vulgar, tyrannical mother, who succeeded in alienating first the husband and afterward the children, she lived twelve years in constant suffering. A portion of this suffering she undoubtedly induced or increased, by an undue devotion of her time and affections to formal religion and lonely meditation, to the neglect of domestic duty. But such neglect, besides being provoked and almost forced upon her, was but temporary. She soon saw and corrected the error on her own part. On the other, it was never corrected; and few there are, we apprehend, who could bear this perpetual, galling, and often bitter trial, with greater patience, or a more Christian return of good for evil, than did she until her husband's death. The rest of her life was devoted to the culture and communication of religious affections, with an ever-active benevolence; and during most of this period she was subjected to various forms of obloquy and persecution for opinion's sake. This trial, also, she bore cheerfully and nobly. A more striking instance of the union of gentleness with firmness, patience in hearing and intelligence in answering all questions and cavils, we do not remember. Taking her own exposition of the opinions considered most heretical and dangerous, as in her first remarkable and trying interview with Bossuet, the most powerful ecclesiastic of the age, and the most implacable of enemies, it is impossible not to respect the powers of her intellect, or not to admire the elevation of her spiritual aims. Compare them as we may in learning or in logic, the Bishop of Meaux can boast nothing over his feminine opponent in moral aspiration. It is something, that he who had assailed, and, as was thought by the whole Church, had conquered, the leading reformers and highest theologians, was willing to contend with a woman for days and months, — that he joined two other heads of the Church as a commission appointed by the king to examine her, passed no act of condemnation even of her

doctrines then, and gave her a paper favorable to her conduct and character, in his own name. This paper Bossuet attempted afterwards to withdraw, instigated and wearied, as he confesses, by her many opposers, and he changed at last into a vindictive and successful foe, both of her and her defender, the high-minded Fenelon.

We attempt not the full enumeration of facts, most of which are probably known to our readers. The place which Madame Guyon occupied in the reign of Louis the Fourteenth; the position she assumed as in some sense a reformer of the Church, to whose service she was always devoted, but whose proneness to formal religion she deplored and declared; the persecutions to which this subjected her, from petty vexations, vulgar abuse, brutal assault, and attempts at poisoning, up to imprisonment by the royal edict in a convent for eight months, afterward repeated, and ending in four years' confinement to the Bastile without favor of any kind, and banishment for the rest of her life to the city of Blois; the sympathy and support which she yet received from very many in common and exalted stations; the concessions which her conduct extorted from her most virulent opposers; the long and able controversies of which she was the occasion, dividing almost equally the dignitaries and judges at Rome, and holding the Pope long in suspense, unwilling to condemn until Louis required it; most of all, the enlightened approval and self-sacrificing fidelity of one of the highest minds and most perfect men that Christianity itself has produced, whose name is now known and revered by millions who never heard of Bossuet, — these are some of the facts which clothe this narrative with singular interest. It makes an instructive and melancholy chapter in human story, — not the only one, but the more melancholy for that. If it may be taken as a specimen of Christians' treatment of one another, who can wonder that this religion finds obstacles and infidels? What had Madame Guyon said or done, what had Fenelon said or done, that they should be followed by suspicion and malediction, and in the end be visited with all the punishment that a powerful but politic hierarchy dared to inflict?

This is to us the most important point, and the only one on which we can at all enlarge; — not the fact of persecution only, but the cause; the nature of the offence, and the truth it teaches as to men's views of religion, and their low attainment. Let us look at this for a moment. The boldest and

most exceptionable form in which we find Madame Guyon's views expressed are in the Act of Consecration which the Prioress of the Benedictines drew up for her, and which she signed at the age of twenty-two, — in which she pledges herself to be the "spouse of Jesus Christ," taking him as her husband, and accepting "as a part of my marriage portion the temptations and sorrows, the crosses and contempt, which fell to him." This is not language that we should use; but it is the language of that Church and age; it is authorized, almost to the letter, by the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testaments; and we see nothing in it to condemn her, more than many others. Again, when Bossuet went to interrogate her, before he brought his terrible power to bear upon the heretic, his chief charge seems to have been, that her doctrines involved the assertion of "an inward experience above the common experience of Christians, even those who have a high reputation for piety"! To his question about her favorite and offensive phrase, the "fixed state," she mildly replied, — "All that is meant by the fixed state is a state which is established, which is comparatively firm, which is based more upon principle than upon feeling, and lives more by faith than by emotion." She was constantly accused of undervaluing, if not scorning, the austerities and mortifications of the Church; but she only insisted, that, while physical sufferings are clearly a part of God's discipline, and highly salutary, they are not to be sought or self-inflicted, but only received as God may appoint them. So in regard to Christ, and the great doctrine of sanctification by faith; the chief and offending difference between her and the Church was, that Christ, when received by faith, "can save not only from the penalty of past sins, but from the polluting and condemning power of present sins; that he has power not only to make us holy, but to *keep* us holy." In fine, her crime, for which she suffered more than death, was, that she made it practicable, and therefore a duty, to be always "pure," striving to be always "perfect" in faith and love. As she says in the beginning of one of the simple sonnets which she wrote in the prison to which the doctrine doomed her, — "Love constitutes my crime." What a crime for a Christian tribunal, and a Bastile!

The life of Madame Guyon was a life of active charity, as well as inward rest. That unfortunate word, Quietism, which images to most minds a state of indolent inaction or

wild reverie, calling itself piety, found no such response in her heart or life. She does not appear to have known much of Molinos, who was considered the father of Quietism in that century, and who was imprisoned for it. True, her books, when condemned, were classed with his "Spiritual Guide," the doctrines of which were thought so dangerous. The object of that work, we believe, was to set forth the tranquillity of a soul absorbed in God, dead to all other thoughts and feelings, disturbed by no outward events, and resting in no outward observance. So far evidently Madame Guyon was a Quietist, though we do not find that she ever took the name. Tranquil she certainly was, amid all reproach and persecution, to a degree that we may all covet. But indolent, or merely meditative, she never was. Early left a widow, with wealth and beauty, and often renewed proposals of marriage, she turned from all to labor in the remote and least favored portions of France, where she passed several years as a missionary, under the counsel of spiritual directors, but unpaid, suspected of the worst heresy, thwarted in her benevolent plans, persecuted from place to place, yet still working on in uncomplaining faith and disinterested love. Disinterested in a worldly sense, to an unusual degree, her large fortune she seems scarcely to have viewed as her own. At Paris, during the famine of 1680, she dealt out bread to the hungry without stint, and found employment for great numbers of the children of the poor. As soon as the distress ceased, she went upon her mission; and during a part of it, driven by her relentless opponents into an obscure place, she lived in a poor cottage, with but one good room, which she gave up to her daughter and maid, ascending by a ladder to her own unfurnished chamber. Of this place she says, — "Never did I enjoy a greater content than in this hovel. It seemed to me entirely conformable to the littleness and simplicity which characterize the true life in Christ." Of course there was enthusiasm in this, fanaticism, if you will, — any thing but selfishness. If she did it for fame, she was satisfied with a kind that satisfies few. The privation may have been easy; but she took with it contumely, constant annoyance, and literal buffeting. Even in this hovel, where she only asked to live in the peace and pleasure of doing good, she was brutally assailed, her little garden and arbour destroyed, her windows dashed in with stones which fell at her feet, and the house surrounded at night by men threatening personal abuse, so that again she was compelled

to flee. Her enemies were plainly determined that she should not enjoy too much quietism! But they had no power to disturb it, for it was not outward. She could change her place, and still work on; tending the sick, preparing linen and ointments for wounds, teaching poor children the alphabet and the catechism, and diffusing the truth and blessing of pure love. It was in these occupations, at the foot of the Alps, in the very place where Gibbon and Voltaire afterward wrote, and Rousseau and Byron nourished their wild genius amid nature's grandeur, that this singular woman, in the power of a different inspiration, matured in her silent heart the doctrine of perfect faith, and first uttered to her own listening ear that new word in connection with faith, — justification. New in itself it was not; but strange and startling to a church that sought it not in the Scriptures, and stood upon a different foundation. Early in life had Madame Guyon studied the Bible, and committed large portions to memory. This may have aided her in finding that neglected truth, and with her ardent temperament carrying it to its utmost extent. But little did she know then of the effect it was to have upon the Church, or the condign punishment it was to bring upon her. She never recalled the word or withheld the truth, and the punishment never ceased. She lived nearly forty years after this, but only in obstructed toil, in persecution, prison, and banishment. She died an exile, in 1717, at the age of sixty-nine.

The Church of Rome has enough to answer for; but it is not alone, perhaps not the most inconsistent, in punishing those who place inward goodness before and above every thing outward, and regard as practicable and imperative the injunction, "Be ye perfect." Of this flagrant inconsistency have all churches been guilty. And what a duty is thrown upon us by this fact itself! How should it search our consciences and quicken our zeal! We welcome every life, and every book, that will thus reprove and kindle us. We read our own shame in such pages as these before us. By their very disclosure of weakness and error, with so much of excellence and usefulness, they show us what a Christian should be and might do. They impress us less with the dangers of fanaticism, than with the sins of the Church, the wants of the world, the capacity, responsibility, and destiny of every human soul.

E. B. H.

Art. II. — CAUSES OF THE DECLINE OF INTEREST IN CRITICAL THEOLOGY.

[An Address, delivered before the "Association of the Alumni of the Cambridge Theological School," July 16, 1847. By George R. Noyes, D. D.]

I do not know that this society has definitely prescribed the nature of the subject to which our attention should be called on an occasion like the present. But as we have other times and places in which the practical duties of the Christian ministry are usually discussed, I suppose that in this place and on this occasion the subject should have some relation to theology as a science.

At our last anniversary, one of our respected brothers proposed as a theme for extemporaneous discussion the causes of the decline of interest in critical theology. As we have usually had little or no time for debate at our anniversary meetings, I have thought it might be well to take possession of the subject thus proposed, especially as a debate upon it may be forwarded, rather than hindered, by the topics which I shall suggest. By critical theology I shall understand, in my remarks, the criticism and interpretation of the Scriptures, and what is connected with this department of theological literature. I exclude the consideration of doctrinal theology and ecclesiastical history for no other reason than that I may contract the limits of my subject.

Before entering into a discussion of the causes of the alleged decline of interest in critical theology, it may be well, however, to inquire in what sense and in what degree the assertion of such a decline is just and true, what are the qualifications with which it should be accompanied, and whether it applies to one only or to all classes of Christians.

Taking this country at large, it appears to me, that, instead of a decline, there has been no inconsiderable progress in the department of Biblical literature within the memory of those of us who have arrived at middle age. Among several denominations of Christians, — for instance, the Baptists, the Universalists, and the Methodists, — the increase of interest in Biblical learning has been great and obvious. Is it not probable that these denominations, in which improvement has been most marked, have only partaken of a spirit which has been common to all denominations? Our theological

seminaries, the oldest of which was founded less than forty years ago, excited an interest in the critical study of the Scriptures, and furnished aids for its pursuit, which were not before known in our country. If the degree of interest in the subject is at all to be measured by the number of elementary works relating to it, such as grammars and lexicons, which have been published within the last ten or fifteen years, we may flatter ourselves that there has been no inconsiderable progress in Biblical studies among us. Of Hebrew Grammars, there have been printed five or six editions of that by Professor Stuart, three or four of the translation of Gesenius by Professor Conant, and one of the full and excellent Grammar by Dr. Nordheimer, not to mention others of less note. Within this time have also appeared several editions of the admirable Hebrew Lexicon of Gesenius, and of the New Testament Lexicon by Dr. Robinson, in which he has transferred to our language the results of the labors of Dr. Wahl, of Germany, with additions of his own. We have also had within the same period several editions of the comprehensive Grammar of the New Testament idioms, by Dr. Winer. Valuable Introductions to the Old Testament by Jahn and De Wette, and to the New Testament by Hug, have been made accessible to those acquainted with only the English language. Most of the works to which allusion has been made are translations, it is true; and are by no means so flattering indications of American scholarship as they would have been if original works. But numerous editions of them would not have been called for, if they had not been to some extent used. If we admit, what I have some reason to believe true, that, of those who purchase a grammar of the Hebrew or Greek, but few become proficients in those languages, it is still certain that the large demand for the works which have been enumerated proves any thing rather than a decline of interest in Biblical literature in the country at large within the last twenty years.

Within the same period of time have appeared several original Commentaries on portions of the Scriptures, which, though not of first-rate excellence and likely to stand the test of time, are certainly in advance of the popular English commentaries. Should a system of theology be attempted by a well-educated divine of any denomination in our country, we should not expect it to be deformed by the miserable misinterpretation and misapplication of the lan-

guage of the Scriptures which mark the writings of Edwards and Dwight.

Within the memory of all of us, two works connected with Biblical literature have appeared in our country, which may challenge the praise of being superior to any thing on the same subjects which has been produced within the same period in England or Europe. I refer to the work on the Genuineness of the Gospels by Mr. Norton, and the Biblical Researches in Palestine by Dr. Robinson. The work of Mr. Furness on "Jesus and his Biographers," however we might at a proper time qualify our praise of it, deserves also to be mentioned as a highly creditable contribution to the Biblical literature of our country.

We may safely assert, that never were greater means enjoyed in this country for the pursuit of critical studies, than within these last twenty years. If, then, our course has been retrograde instead of progressive, it is peculiarly disgraceful to those from whom the pursuit and patronage of critical studies is to be expected. This is the more evident, when we consider that there has been undeniable progress in classical criticism, as is proved not only by the number and value of the elementary works for the study of the Greek and Latin languages, but by the excellent editions of portions of the Greek and Latin classics, which have appeared both at New Haven and Cambridge.

On the whole, then, with respect to the country at large, we have no reason to complain of a decline of interest in critical theology. But perhaps the decline which is lamented is supposed to relate to the denomination to which most of us belong, and to a very recent period. In regard to the question thus stated it may be more difficult to form an opinion. That there is an undue neglect of critical studies in many of our young men and in many of our clergy, that we have not contributed all that we ought to the advancement of Biblical literature, will, I suppose, be admitted by all. There is certainly a general impression that there has been a decline of interest in the subject, which is not to be supposed to be wholly destitute of foundation. I find, however, that the same impression is prevalent in some other denominations as regards their own body. Perhaps our denomination is chargeable with neglect in regard to the public provision for its pursuit and encouragement. In the Baptist seminary at Newton, where the number of students

has not usually been greater than at ours, four professors of theology have been supported. At Andover, where the number of students of late has been about double that of ours, there are no less than five professors, who have occasional aid from assistant teachers. We have only two professors, and a considerable portion of their time and attention is demanded for the religious services of the College, with which they are connected. For the department of systematic theology, which is considered of so great importance in all the other theological schools of our country, we have no professor. The number of respectable scholars in other denominations of Christians is owing to nothing so much as to the demand for them created by the numerous theological professorships throughout the country. There are about twenty in New England alone supported by the Congregationalists and Baptists. The chance of obtaining one in our denomination is so small, that no one can be supposed to pursue critical studies for the express object of qualifying himself for it. Whatever proficiency in critical studies exists in our denomination is the effect of disinterested devotion to their pursuit.

It should also be remembered, that, from the nature of these studies, there have always been many, even among the clergy, who, from their turn of mind and other causes, have been averse to them; so that first-rate scholars in this department of learning, in any country, have always been extremely few. We must guard against the common fault of being *laudatores temporis acti*. It may be doubted whether there was ever a time when a greater number of our clergy were better able to make a thorough investigation of any subject of critical theology, and prepare it for publication, than at the present time. It may be, indeed, that a greater proportion of such writers than would be wished are in or past the meridian of life. It is to be hoped, however, that the neglect of critical studies which is complained of is partial in its extent; that, though they may be neglected and despised by some, they are valued and pursued by others, even to a greater extent than formerly. Their unpopularity among a portion of the laity may be attributed to progress, rather than to decline, in the department of theology to which they relate.

Having made these limitations and qualifications, we are prepared to discuss the *causes* of the alleged decline of interest in critical and exegetical studies relating to the Scriptures,

to the extent to which it exists, without exactly defining it, and of the undue neglect of them, which is beyond doubt.

The first cause which I shall mention of a want of interest in some of the subjects belonging to Biblical literature is one which we can contemplate with pleasure. I refer to the satisfactory results which have been gained, and the consequent narrowing of the field of inquiry in this department of study. There is no motive for voyages of exploration, in regard to a country which has been thoroughly explored, and brought within the circle of familiar knowledge. This consideration accounts, at least, for a diminution of interest in that department of criticism which relates to the text of the New Testament. When attention was first called to the New Testament manuscripts, and it was announced that various readings were counted by thousands and tens of thousands, it was natural that the Christian community should be alarmed, as if the integrity of the Scriptures were at stake, and the very foundations of the Christian faith in danger of being unsettled; while others had their hopes greatly excited, as if Christianity was to appear in a new dress through a mere revisal of the text of the New Testament. Hence it was natural that great interest should be felt in the subject of manuscripts, the modes in which their antiquity and value were to be discovered, the true system according to which they should be classified, and the various principles and rules by which false readings might be detected, and the true maintained. The occasion called forth a sufficient number of learned Christian critics, and in consequence of the immense labor which they have bestowed on the subject, we have the gratifying result, now acknowledged by all scholars, that the text of the New Testament has been transmitted to us in remarkable purity, much greater than that of any Greek or Roman classic; that by far the greater number of variations are of no authority, or of no importance, making no difference in the sense; and that it is a matter of very little consequence, in regard to the study and history of our religion, whether we take the received text, formed, as we know it was, on the authority of a few manuscripts, which happened to be at hand, or the very best text which the most laborious and judicious criticism has produced.

Now, without denying that something remains to be done for the text of the New Testament, especially for the settling

of a few disputed readings, and that the clergy, if not others, should have an acquaintance with the literary history of the text, and the mode in which the Scriptures have been transmitted to us from age to age, we may certainly admit the happy results of this branch of critical inquiry as affording a very plausible apology for diminished interest in its pursuit.

Of the results of exegetical inquiry relating to the meaning of the Scriptures we cannot speak so favorably. But it cannot be doubted that the field of inquiry has been somewhat narrowed by the results which have been gained. Much Scriptural knowledge has become familiar and commonplace, which was gained only by extensive research on the part of Biblical scholars. There is much less opportunity for distinction than formerly, by mere extent of learning or novelty of views in the interpretation of the Scriptures. Hereafter, he must be regarded as the most original critic, who displays the truest judgment in relation to opinions which have been already proposed.

There is, however, so much which remains unsettled in regard to the authority and meaning of the Old Testament and the New, and the connection between them; in regard to the nature of prophecy, and the office and mission of the Hebrew prophets; in regard to the christology of the Old Testament, and the manner in which it was understood by writers of the New; and in regard to the views of Christ and the Apostles respecting the design and final issues of the Christian dispensation, — not to mention other subjects, the diverse opinions concerning which divide Christendom into sects, — that, if what is settled in regard to the meaning of the Scriptures be a cause of diminished interest in the study of them, it is most unreasonable that it should be so. Of this every one must be convinced who reflects that there exists not a respectable commentary on the Old Testament in the English language, none made on the same principles of interpretation on which all other books are explained; and none on the New Testament at all corresponding to the wants of the times, especially in relation to the new questions in the province of historical criticism which have been started by the German antisupernaturalists.

Another cause of diminished interest in the critical study of the Scriptures, which we may contemplate with a degree of pleasure, is the new interest which has been manifested by

the clergy and other enlightened friends of religion in the application of the acknowledged principles of Christianity to the reform of social abuses, and to various objects of Christian benevolence and common humanity. If, in the enthusiastic pursuit of the various moral and benevolent enterprises which distinguish the present from any former period of the Church, some of the clergy have forgotten their obligations to the cause of pure truth and the advancement of theological science, and thus given occasion for the application of the precept, "These things ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone," we may be reconciled to the temporary neglect of critical studies by the importance of the cause which has occasioned it. We have reason to congratulate ourselves that this great subject of the application of Christianity to social abuses did not take nearly exclusive possession of the mind of Dr. Channing, until he had rendered those invaluable services to the cause of religious truth, which will probably, in the end, do more for the advancement of human happiness than those of his writings which have the abatement of social evils more immediately in view.

Again, the modified views in regard to the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures, which have been gaining ground among Christians of all denominations, have had an obvious tendency to lessen the feeling of the necessity and importance of a critical study of the Scriptures. The influence of this cause is of course most likely to be felt by those who deny any peculiar authority even to the declarations of Jesus Christ as resulting from the miracles by which his Divine mission was attested. Of what special use, it is asked, to settle the meaning of language, to which no specific and peculiar authority is attached, when discovered? This plea for the neglect of Biblical criticism is, indeed, insufficient. For, on the supposition that no higher authority belongs to the books of the Old and New Testament than they can claim as human compositions, when we consider their intrinsic value, the influence they have had on the religious ideas of the world, and the estimation in which they are now held by the great body of the Christian Church, it would seem to be disgraceful to one professing to be a teacher of religion to be destitute of a thorough knowledge of their meaning.

In connection, too, with the denial of any peculiar authority in the declarations of Christ, false views of the means by

which truth is to be discovered have contributed to the neglect of critical theology. There is a prevalent notion of universal inspiration, or intuitive perception, extending not merely to the first principles of faith, but to nearly all truth on all subjects. It is not singular that they, who persuade themselves that they can *see* the truth on all subjects by intuition with as much ease and certainty as the eye discerns shapes and forms, should decline the labor of mastering the principles and rules of interpretation, and the various learning by which alone the exact and full meaning of any of the writings of antiquity can be understood. I shall not venture so far beyond my province as to discuss the question, whether there is an independent faculty of reason, which takes immediate cognizance of ideas, as the eye discovers outward forms. It may be that the notions to which I have alluded as mischievous are only the truth pushed to an extreme, or the spiritual philosophy "run mad." No one can be more fully persuaded than I am of the existence of certain primary principles of faith, implanted or inspired in man by the Almighty, to distrust or deny which is to lay the foundation of unlimited skepticism. In order to believe in a supernatural revelation, we must believe in the existence of a God who can make a revelation, and who possesses such moral perfections that he will not deceive us. It appears to me one of the most dangerous and fundamental of errors, into which some have fallen in their zeal to establish the importance of a miraculous revelation, to deny or undervalue that knowledge of God and of duty which comes by the light of reason, and which could not be suggested by mere outward phenomena, were it not for certain primary and immediate principles of faith, implanted in man by the Source of all truth. But the notion, which has prevailed among some of our young men, of being able to come at the truth on all subjects without examination, without evidence, and without argument, which despises reasoning in its legitimate sphere, and sets up a temporary individual feeling, or impression, as an infallible criterion of what is true and right, is destructive not only of interest and progress in any science, but of all mental energy. I have seen sad examples of the blasting influence of such notions on the intellectual character of young men, especially in leading them to regard critical studies of every kind as useless or worthless. Every investigation of particular subjects relating to theology

gives, in their opinion, mere fragmentary views. They must stand on some central mount of vision, and see the whole domain of truth at a glance, and gain an acquaintance with the parts of the region of human knowledge by first obtaining a knowledge of the whole. It is due to the cause of truth, as well as to the sanity and usefulness of many well-meaning young men, that they whose views of the extent and value of immediate spiritual vision are the highest should define with greater precision, than has been usual of late, its limits, and the subjects to which it extends; and give their disciples more distinctly to understand what are the laws upon which mental energy depends, what are the conditions on which clear and accurate views can be gained, and what the means by which the truth, on most subjects, at least, is to be acquired.

But the principal cause of the undue neglect of the critical study of the Scriptures, and especially of its unpopularity, and the jealousy and fear with which it is regarded by many at the present day, remains to be mentioned. It is a prevalent feeling of disappointment at what critical inquiry has been able to effect for the cause of pure Christianity and its recommendation to the skeptically inclined, and of alarm on account of its supposed positive tendency to unsettle the faith of Christians, and even to undermine the authority of the Christian revelation, so far as it is founded in history.

In regard to the first point, namely, disappointment at what Biblical criticism and interpretation have been able to effect for the cause of pure Christianity, perhaps it has been occasioned in part by too sanguine hopes. Perhaps some of us may have anticipated from a sounder interpretation of the Scriptures alone what could be reasonably expected only from the general progress and enlightenment of the public mind in connection with it. We did not make sufficient account of the consideration, that when a true interpretation is presented in books, it finds speedy access to the minds of very few in the community, and that when it is presented to the mind, it is likely to receive no better reception from a great number of readers than one founded in mere fancy. We did not always consider, that, in order that an exposition of a passage may be accepted, there are required not only good reasons on the part of the interpreter, but a good power of appreciating reasons on the part of the reader or hearer. Perhaps, too,

we undervalued the force of prejudice and feeling in favor of that which has been long received, and which is supported by interesting associations. It appears to me, that all reasonable expectations in regard to the progress of pure Christianity in consequence of just views of interpretation have been realized in the more rational exhibition of Christian doctrine, not by one denomination only, but by all denominations of Christians in New England, and in the greater respect to Christianity from those who were in a state of hostility to it. So far as Biblical interpretation is concerned, the results are such as to give great encouragement to perseverance in this department of study.

The charge of the tendency of Biblical criticism to unsettle the faith of individuals is so indefinite in its nature, and may be presented in so many different points of view, that it is difficult to give so brief a consideration of it as my limits demand. It is undoubtedly true, to a certain extent, that when religious feelings and religious faith have been associated with certain errors, it is impossible to eradicate those errors without danger of unsettling the faith of the ignorant and undiscriminating. This is the necessary condition of all progress in the truth. To avoid the evil, you must have a perfect stagnation of the intellect, so far as religion is concerned, and never make a step of progress from the most odious forms which false religion has ever assumed. When our Saviour said, "I came not to bring peace, but a sword," he showed that he was fully aware of the incidental evils which would attend the discharge of his mission of reform; but he saw a glorious future beyond, a reign of truth and of peace, which justified him in going on.

Besides, supposing the unsettling of the faith of the multitude to have been the consequence of Biblical criticism in as high a degree as any one has pretended, it remains to be asked, whether inquiry and progress are the only means of unsettling the faith of the multitude. What does ecclesiastical history teach in regard to the causes of unbelief? Has Christianity in times past suffered most from inquiry, progress, criticism, or from hypocrisy, hollow professions, empty formalism, and ignorant bigotry? What was it that unsettled the faith of the multitude of the French nation before and at the time of the Revolution? Not religious investigation, not Biblical criticism, certainly. What is it that now hinders the faith of the great body of the intelligent in Spain and Italy?

We have never heard that religious inquiry or Biblical criticism had been pursued to any extravagant extent in those countries. Let any one who would know something of the causes of infidelity read Blanco White's "Doblado's Letters from Spain."

The progress of correct views in regard to the true character of the Scriptures, as being a collection of human writings on various subjects, containing among other things a revelation from God to man, rather than as being as a whole and in all its parts the word of God, may have had an influence in unsettling the faith of some, who had been taught to regard every text and sentence in the Bible as an infallible test of Divine truth. But I imagine the faith of still greater numbers has been impaired by the old doctrine, which makes the Supreme Being accountable for all the actions and words ascribed to him in the Old Testament. Nothing can be more likely to unsettle the Christian faith of the intelligent inquirer, than to put all the histories and books of the Old Testament on a par, in respect to credibility, with the writings of Matthew, John, and Paul. Indeed, this notion of the infallible inspiration and equal value of every book and part of a book of the whole Scriptures has been a "stone of stumbling and a rock of offence" to thousands of honest minds. As intelligence advances, it must be more and more perceived to be a very millstone hung round the neck of Christianity.

The result, then, of the argument is, that though free investigation or scientific criticism may incidentally unsettle the faith of the undiscriminating, yet the absence or the stifling of a spirit of inquiry will produce this effect in a much higher degree; not to mention that this unsettling of faith, which is ascribed to criticism, is more justly to be charged upon those who have claimed for the Scriptures what they never claimed for themselves, and have staked the truth of our religion on as mere an assumption as that of the infallibility of the Pope.

But still I hear the question, Where is this process of criticism to stop? Is there not danger of going too far? What shall we say of the apparent results of criticism in undermining the historical foundations of Christianity, which have been manifested in Germany, and in a measure in other countries, and which are represented in the writings of Paulus and Strauss? When we see critics of learning and talent, like

those who have been mentioned, setting forth, as the result of their inquiries, that Christianity has no authority beyond that which belongs to it as a comparatively pure system of natural religion, and Jesus Christ as a mere Jewish Rabbi, distinguished as a religious teacher only by his genius and the excellence of his character, is it not time to pause in our investigations, and give up this boasted science of Biblical criticism, which seems to lead to such appalling results ?

In these questions I have no more than expressed the extensive alarm which prevails among many of the clergy, as well as the laity, in this country and in Europe, in relation to the investigations of scientific criticism. It cannot, I think, be doubted, that not only the cause of pure and rational Christianity among Protestants, but Protestantism itself, has received a temporary shock from the deistical publications of German critics, and of those who have adopted their views. A morbid dread of inquiry, founded on any thing rather than true faith, has for some time been reacting against reform in theology, and driving men back upon the past. They are seen taking refuge in an old and venerable church, or in fixed symbols and confessions of faith, from the painful responsibility, or from the fearful results, of resting on Scripture and reason. The Church of Rome, as being the oldest of the pretenders to infallibility, having most of the quality of fixedness, and being supported by the greatest multitude of voices, has probably received the largest accession of members in consequence of this temporary alarm. It is in this state of things that we discern one cause of the unpopularity, if not of the neglect, of Biblical criticism.

The first remark which occurs in this connection is the unreasonableness and inconsistency of thus pretending to give up private judgment, and to escape from inquiry by deference to authority. Suppose, if you please, that absolute infallibility resides in some Church, yet how plain is it, that, unless private judgment also be infallible in the selection of the Church which you join, the infallibility of that Church is of no use to you! You are in as much uncertainty as if it did not exist. Thus, in whatever church, confession, or catechism, one may seek refuge from the responsibility of inquiry and private judgment, he cannot shake it off. He is still responsible for the exercise of his reason in regard to the Church which he joins; a work at least as difficult to be executed on rational grounds as that of settling the authority and the meaning of

the Scriptures. If you say that it is Divine grace, rather than reason, that must lead one to the true Church, we yet want a reason why Divine grace should be exercised in favor of one Church rather than another, so that the responsibility of private judgment cannot be escaped. Now private judgment in relation to the Scriptures, exercised in the highest degree and with the best helps, is Biblical criticism.

My second remark, in relation to the seeming incompatibility of criticism with Christian faith, which some have inferred from the fearful results to which distinguished German critics have arrived, is, that other German scholars, of at least equal eminence, have arrived at very different results. The views of Paulus, regarded as an attempt to explain the origin of narratives of miracles, lost whatever favor they once obtained long before the death of their author, and are now treated with contempt even by antisupernaturalists. We have no disposition to disparage the learning or talents of Dr. Strauss, nor do we think it wise to underrate the forces of an opponent; but it certainly would be doing him full justice to rate him as high as Neander, Lucke, and several other living supernaturalists, distinguished for the freedom of their inquiries, not to mention those whose opinions are doubtful, or who may be charged with a dogmatical bias.

Further, suppose Strauss to be a fair representative of all the Biblical critics of Germany, in regard to the exclusion of all that is miraculous from Christianity, it would be unfair to place this result to the account of Biblical criticism. Nothing is more certain than that neither Paulus nor Strauss was led to the rejection of Christianity, as a positive or miraculous revelation, by historical criticism or Biblical interpretation. They regarded this point as settled by their metaphysical philosophy. The most which they attempt to do by their critical inquiries is to justify and strengthen a conclusion already adopted on metaphysical grounds. The problem which they undertake to solve in their Lives of Jesus is, — The impossibility or incredibility of miracles being established on metaphysical grounds, how is the existence of such narratives as the four Gospels to be accounted for or to be explained in harmony with such views? In relation to the rejection of miracles, the English and Scotch deists, the rationalist Paulus, and the mythist Strauss, all stand on the same ground. The difference between them relates

only to their theories respecting the origin of narratives of miracles. The English and Scotch deists either did not undertake to explain the matter at all, or explained it on the ground of deception and fraud on the part of Christ or the Apostles, or both. The theory of Paulus is, that the senses of the observers were deceived in a wonderful degree, so that they mistook common for miraculous events, and that the four Gospels, though the productions of eye and ear-witnesses, are, through the influence of imagination and other causes, of such a character as to require enormous deductions from their obvious meaning, before they can be received as literal and true histories. Strauss, on the other hand, supposing the Gospels to have been written, not by companions of Christ or their contemporaries, but by unknown authors of a later date, proposes a third theory, namely, that all narratives of miracles are mere myths, or legends, gradually formed from the ideas and expectations of the time when they were written. It remains to be seen whether this last theory will meet with any better reception, even from intelligent unbelievers, than the two previous ones. In fact, there are already indications that the views of Strauss are not more satisfactory to English deists than to believers in Divine revelation. So far, therefore, as the opinions of German deistical theologians are concerned, it is metaphysical philosophy against which the charge of undermining the historical foundation of Christianity primarily lies. This is the true culprit that has done the mischief.

> "Me, me, (adsum qui feci,) in me convertite ferrum,
> . . . . . mea fraus omnis."

It is true, that the critics who have been mentioned, in their Lives of Jesus profess to proceed on critical grounds; but who does not perceive that they who believe a miracle to be impossible or incredible are under a bias or prepossession, which incapacitates them for an impartial critical inquiry into the credibility of a narrative concerning miracles? Their metaphysical philosophy has already decided the question at issue. I suppose, however, that I need not argue against the absurdity of railing against philosophy, because some of its devotees have denied the possibility or the credibility of miracles, or of a personal God to work them. Common sense seems to have decided that the existence of such opinions was a reason for pursuing true philosophy with greater ardor, rather than for neglecting it; that if we must

have such men as Spinoza, and Hobbes, and Hume, we should also have such as Cudworth, and Locke, and Stewart.

Alarms for the cause of religion, occasioned by the progress of science, have always proved to be unfounded. The great truths of astronomy, on their first development, were thought to be in conflict with Divine revelation. Suppose that the edict of the Pope in opposition to the opinions of Galileo had prevailed, and that astronomical inquiry had at that time been put down, would religion, any more than science, now be in a better condition? Or is real religion likely to be promoted by the opposition which is now made in some quarters to the science of geology, on account of its apparent conflict with the traditions in the book of Genesis? Or suppose, that, when so much fear for the integrity of the New Testament was excited by the various readings which investigation discovered, critical inquiries had been stopped, and no Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, or Scholz, had arisen to probe the matter to its depths, should we now have greater or less reason to confide n the purity of the text of the Scriptures?

The truth is, that the pursuit of Biblical criticism to its utmost limits is only the application of reason, or of common sense, to a particular kind of subjects, namely, the genuineness of books, the antiquity and authenticity of records, and the meaning which belongs to them. It is only a nicer and more thorough application of principles which every man of sense employs, when he reads a newspaper or converses with a friend. We cannot distrust the legitimate conclusions of our reason on this subject, without distrusting them on every other subject, and thus sinking into the most unlimited skepticism. There is no point, in the exercise of the human faculties, in regard to which we may say, "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." Conservatism in relation to institutions and forms I can understand and value, but so far as inquiries after truth are concerned, conservatism, if it means any thing, means hypocrisy. How can a true man, in his researches as a scholar, be more a conservative, than to aim to preserve all the truth at which, in the faithful exercise of his faculties, he can arrive? And how can he be less a radical, than to aim to eradicate all the error which falls in his way?

In the formation of one's opinions, I admit the duty of cautious and careful inquiry before adopting for truth that

which runs counter to the opinions of nations and ages. The true critic should be filled with the spirit of humility, ever keeping in mind all the various biases and weaknesses which may lead one to a wrong conclusion, and paying a proper respect to the judgment of other minds. But let him not distrust his reason. He cannot do violence to that without violating his obligations to its Almighty Giver, and without making himself a slave to any who may have the impudence to pretend that their reason is surer than his reason.

In the publication of opinions inconsistent with the prevalent faith of a community, there is a special obligation that one should be sure of the ground on which he stands. Even when one has well considered them, and kept them, perhaps, according to the precept of Horace respecting poetry, to the ninth year, he should still have reference in their publication to the preparation of the minds of others for their reception. He should have regard to time and place and other circumstances in maintaining them. He should not thrust forward in loose declamation before a popular audience what ought first to be subjected to the ordeal of learned criticism. But still the conscientious man will never lose sight of his obligation to make known in some way, and at some time, all the new truth which he feels sure that he has gained. Notwithstanding, therefore, the unexpected results to which many modern critics of learning and talent have arrived, results which present Christianity only as a system of natural religion, without any special sanction from the authority of its teacher, still the only remedy, so far as relates to its historical foundations, is the study and application of the principles of historical and exegetical criticism. As to its principles, we must be sure that they are founded in reason and common sense; and as to their application, we must see that it is made with a thorough comprehension of all the grounds on which an opinion should be formed. This is the only process by which the miraculous foundation of Christianity, as a matter of history, can be maintained. Should it turn out that the conclusions of Strauss are supported by a just application of the true principles of criticism, we must adopt and avow them. We must have churches founded on the principles of natural religion alone, without sanction from a special messenger of God. We need not fear the truth on any subject. The Almighty will know how to maintain order in

the world, and to guide his creatures to the dignity and blessedness for which they were designed, without the aid of human tricks and shams, by whatever antiquity or numbers they may be supported. He is able to draw all men to himself by motives and means of his own ordination. His laws and revelations can need no other sanction than that which he has been pleased to give them.

If, on the other hand, we believe that the conclusions of Strauss and his followers are false, that they are the conclusions of those who come to the study of the life of Jesus with a metaphysical theory, according to which all miracles are impossible or incredible, and of course all accounts of them myths or legends, and who, however great may have been their personal candor, were by this primary bias essentially disqualified for the study of the Gospels on the pure principles of historical and exegetical criticism; if we believe that their opinions are not the natural and necessary, but the forced, results of these principles, in accommodation to the demands of a theory; if we believe that, in general, the miraculous as well as the common facts related in the Gospels rest on a foundation that cannot be shaken, and that what they may contain, having a mythical character, bears no greater proportion to the whole than might reasonably be expected, if the occurrences they relate were generally founded in truth; if we are thus convinced that Christianity is not merely the purest system of natural religion, but one to which is superadded the authority and sanction of God's special messenger, still our belief can have no stronger historical foundation than that which the principles of historical and exegetical criticism afford. Other considerations may establish the religious and moral truths which Jesus taught, as they may those which have been taught by Plato or any other man. Our rational, moral, and religious nature, aided by that holy spirit which is promised to them that seek it, may enable us to discern and appreciate the godlike excellence of the character of Jesus as delineated in the New Testament. But the application of the principles of historical and exegetical criticism to the New Testament can alone establish the facts of his history, and support his personal claims to superhuman authority. It is thus only that the conclusions of Strauss and his followers can be set aside. How, then, are we to have the men who can examine and refute such works as Strauss's Life of Jesus, except by encouraging

critical theology, by enriching our public libraries with the means of critical and historical research, and by maintaining professors who shall have the leisure, as well as the ability, for a thorough examination of subjects of this nature?

From the work of Strauss which now exists in the English language I cannot anticipate unfavorable effects, in the end. It is addressed, as it ought to be, to scholars, and takes no advantage, like the writings of Paine, of any popular prejudice or feeling. The great body of the Church, whose faith is founded, not on historical inquiry, but on traditional education, on the felt adaptation of Christianity to the capacities, the aspirations, the wants, and the weaknesses of their nature, and the observation of its beneficent effects on individuals and nations, will not immediately be affected by it. They will not read the book, and if they hear of its conclusions, they will regard them as sufficient in themselves to show the falseness of the process by which they were gained. Those inquirers who hold a philosophy which includes faith in an intelligent Author of the world, who, having once created it for a benevolent purpose, may for the same benevolent purpose interpose in a miraculous manner for its enlightenment and reformation, will not be in great danger of being moved by the results of the inquiries of pantheistic theologians, bending criticism to their metaphysical theories. But even for this class of inquirers, and for theological students who seek to know the historical foundations on which the Christian faith rests, we do need an answer to a work so learned and so plausible as Strauss's Life of Jesus. We need a great work, the object of which shall be, not to render the opinions of Strauss contemptible in the eyes of Christians, but to refute them on philosophical and critical grounds; to show in detail, either that his principles of criticism and interpretation are false, or that he has made a false application of them. Any thing short of this will answer no good purpose. The old treatises on the evidence of Christianity do not meet the present emergency. They do not fully meet the difficult questions which are presented in the work of Strauss. The nature, possibility, and credibility of miracles, the principles of historical criticism, the rules for deciding on the value of historical documents, the nature of myths and legends, and the rules and modes by which they are to be distinguished from true history, the criteria of true and pretended miracles, and, in fine, the whole internal evi-

dence of the Gospel history, are subjects which need to be investigated anew, and presented in a new light. No answer to Strauss, as good as could be wished, has as yet appeared even in Germany, where no less than four editions of his work have been issued. The best work called forth by its publication is probably Neander's "Life of Jesus," of which a translation has been promised at Edinburgh. But we need something better than a translation of the work of Neander. We have better writers and thinkers among us than the distinguished historian of the Church, in whom liberality of spirit and extent of research are more apparent than vigor of intellect or clearness of views. All that is wanted is learning, time, and talent devoted to the subject, in order to have a better work for our community than any foreigner can produce. A critical Life of Jesus, or a critical Commentary on the Gospels, having in view the questions raised by Strauss, though not necessarily discussing them in a controversial way, is at present the great desideratum in our theology. We want no work on the subject which is not the product of learning, of talent, and of time. Let those who condemn critical studies as worthless tell us, if they can, how such a work is to be produced. Let them tell us, too, how long it is desirable that the most elaborate exposition of the life of the Founder of Christianity should be the production of one who denies the divinity of his mission.*

There can be no real antagonism between reason and faith. It is not by a timid and arbitrary retreat to an old church or an old system, or by clinging with an intense effort of the will to present views, or by the mere exercise of the Christian spirit and the influence of good living, as some, pushing a correct principle to an extreme, have seemed of late to maintain, but by constant and persevering progress in rational inquiry, that a genuine and vigorous Christian faith can arise from the present chaos of unsettled opinions in the Christian world. Long enough, too, have Christians tried to arrive at a visible unity by Councils and Conventions, arbitrarily adopting formulas of faith. The only means for gaining the consummation, so devoutly to be wished, when

* A learned friend, in whose judgment I have great confidence, has expressed to me the opinion, that I have overrated the talent of Strauss and the importance of his writings. If this be the case, I hope the greater weight will be allowed to what I have said in opposition to his views.

"all shall be one," is a more general and vigorous application of reason to religious subjects, united with a larger measure of the Christian spirit, and a more comprehensive and constant charity.

But I feel that I am beginning to exceed the proper limits of a discourse. It is impossible, however, to close, without recalling the image of him who, at our last anniversary, with his feeble voice, too surely foreboding the loss which we now deplore, but with his usual affluence of thought and beauty of language, illustrated the subject of the influence of character compared with that of mere official dignity or sanctity. Having detained you so long, I cannot undertake to delineate the character of Dr. Peabody. For our own admonition and excitement, I will remind you of only one characteristic of his ministerial course. He was a signal example of a clergyman, who, while he brought to his own pulpit, from which he was seldom absent, a very uncommon number of original and well-written discourses, and was faithful to the private calls of ministerial duty, and adorned the Christian name by his pure and gentle spirit, forgot not the claims of literature, and even of science, upon his active and fertile mind. Who can doubt that his influence as a Christian teacher, even among his own people, was increased by the various and long-continued contributions to our periodical literature which came from his pen? Alas, how ill can we afford to lose so bright an ornament to our profession! Let us learn from him, that our influence as clergymen should be bounded by no parish lines, but only by our ability and our opportunity; and be reminded how much may be accomplished by the quiet and assiduous employment of our talents and our time in the work which God has given us to do.

Art. III. — EVELYN'S LIFE OF MRS. GODOLPHIN.*

A LITTLE more than twenty years since, a posthumous work by John Milton was first published, and was shortly after

---

* *The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.* By JOHN EVELYN of Wootton Esq. Now first published and edited by SAMUEL Lord Bishop of OXFORD Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. xvi. and 151.

noticed at some length in this journal. This little volume, by a contemporary of Milton and the patron of Jeremy Taylor, is also now printed for the first time. Thus are we the first to read and pass judgment upon two works, which, though known to exist, were alike inaccessible to our fathers. One quietly slumbered amidst the forgotten rubbish of the State-Paper Office, and was at length generally supposed to be lost; the other almost as quietly rested among the Evelyn manuscripts. Like Milton's Treatise on Christian Doctrine, the volume before us acquires an interest from the circumstances under which it is published, that it would not otherwise possess. For, in truth, it has little historical value, and throws no new light upon that important period in which Mrs. Godolphin lived. Its great charm lies in its delineation of a virtuous life passed amidst the moral degradation and corruption of the most licentious reign that has ever stained the annals of England. There is always an interest about such a life, even when unmarked by great intellectual power or political importance; and when virtue becomes as rare a sight as it was during the reign of Charles the Second, we may well bestow some degree of admiration upon it. But besides the general interest which we feel in the book on this account, we are led to examine it more carefully from a conviction that Mrs. Godolphin was little like most women. Different and apparently discordant elements seem to have been blended in her character. These circumstances have caused the publication of this volume to be looked for with a good deal of interest. We think there has been, however, a general feeling of disappointment, similar to that which was felt on the publication of Milton's book.

Before we proceed to a brief notice of Mrs. Godolphin's life and character, we have a word to say on the manner in which the editor has performed the duty assigned him. The "Life" was not written until several years after her death, when Evelyn was more than sixty years of age, and never received the benefit of his final corrections. After his death, which happened in 1705, the title was found upon a list of "Things I would write out faire and reform if I had the leisure." The manuscript has remained in his family until very recently, when it was confided to the present editor for publication by the Archbishop of York, a descendant of Mr. Evelyn. The editor has prefixed a very objectionable Introduction, and added a number of valuable notes, for

which he informs us he is indebted "to the accurate and well-furnished pen" of Mr. Holmes of the British Museum. These notes are confined, with a few exceptions, to biographical notices of the various persons mentioned in the text, and are deserving of a degree of commendation which we cannot bestow on those parts that seem to have been under the particular supervision of the editor himself. He has not given that careful attention to the correction of the text which it was incumbent upon him to bestow, in view of these facts respecting the unfinished state of the manuscript. His labors seem to have been confined to correcting the spelling in a few instances, and inserting a few words which were needed to complete the sense. There are, however, several mistakes of the biographer, in regard to facts of some importance, of which no notice whatever is taken. For example, on page 27, Mr. Evelyn says: — "Wee will now then looke vpon her as att Whitehall, whither she came from St. James to waite vpon her Majestye, after the death of the Dutchess, when she was not above sixteene." And a few pages before (p. 6) we are told: — "Thus pass'd she her tyme in that Court till the Dutchess dyed, dureing whose Sickness, accompanyed (as it was) with many vncomfortable circumstances, she waited and attended with an exterordnary sedulity, and as she sometymes told me, when few of the rest were able to endure the fatigue." These statements are alike irreconcilable with each other and with well-known facts; but the explanation is quite simple. Evelyn had no personal knowledge of these facts, for his acquaintance with Mrs. Godolphin did not begin until some time after, and his memory was probably confused when he wrote the account, after many years had elapsed. The principal mistake, as we conceive, lies in confounding Mrs. Godolphin with her sister, Henrietta Maria Blagge, who was afterwards married to Sir Thomas Yarborough. Margaret was transferred to the Queen's service some years before the death of the Duchess of York; for in 1669 we find only one "Mrs. Blagge" among the maids of honor to the Duchess. This was either Mary Blagge, a sister of whom little is known, or Henrietta Maria, who figures in Count Grammont's Memoirs, and who was certainly quite the reverse of Margaret. If Mrs. Godolphin attended upon the Duchess of York, as stated by Evelyn, she is deserving of the more praise, as she was evidently not then in the service of the Duchess. Anne Hyde, Duchess of York,

was a Catholic, and died in the spring of 1671, when Mrs. Godolphin was in her nineteenth year. There are some other errors of a similar character; but we pass to the subject of our notice.

Margaret Blagge was the daughter of a respectable family, which was ardently devoted to the cause of the Stuarts during the whole of the Revolution. She was born at a time when that cause seemed to be hopelessly lost, a few months before Cromwell marched down to the House of Commons with his "files of musketeers" to destroy the liberties of his country, and Whitelocke presented the Rev. Hugh Peters's "huge dogge" to Queen Christina of Sweden, then at the height of her power, but soon to withdraw to more congenial scenes in Rome. Before she had attained her eighth year, things had changed vastly. Cromwell was dead, and his son Richard had vainly endeavoured to follow in his father's career; the Commonwealth had been crushed by the trimmers, under the guidance of Monk and Anthony Ashley Cooper, and the Stuarts had been recalled. On the twenty-ninth of May, 1660, Charles the Second entered London, amidst general rejoicings. "This was also his birth-day," says Mr. Evelyn in his Diary, "and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords and shouting with inexpressible joy; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the mayor, aldermen, and all the companies in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet; the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two o'clock in the afternoon till nine at night." The chronicler adds: — "I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God." As Margaret saw this pompous procession pass, she doubtless smiled with childish admiration and delight; but she was soon to become accustomed to such scenes. She did not, however, live to see the end; twenty-five years later, Evelyn himself was to record the end of that monarch for whose restoration he had blessed God. In the winter of 1685, he wrote: — "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of,

the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, Mazarine, etc., a French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 *l.* in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections in astonishment. Six days after all was in the dust!" It was in a reign whose beginning and close were thus marked that Mrs. Godolphin lived, and at the court of such a monarch that she passed seven years of her life.

In 1665, when the great plague depopulated London, she accompanied her mother on a visit to her father's relations in Suffolk; and upon her return she entered the service of the Duchess of York, and, as we have before stated, was subsequently attached to the Queen's person. The following extracts from her Diary, written when she was still very young, will show how worthily she strove to live in the midst of the vices of the most profligate of courts.

"I must, till Lent, rise att halfe an houre after eight a clock; whilst putting on morning cloathes, say the prayer for Death and the Te Deum: then presently to my prayers, and soe either dress my selfe or goe to Church prayers. In dressing, I must consider how little it signifyes to the saveing of my soule, and how foolish 'tis to be angry about a thing so unnecessary. Consider what our Saviour suffered. — O Lord, assist me.

"When I goe into the withdrawing roome, lett me consider what my calling is: to entertaine the Ladys, not to talke foolishly to Men, more especially the King; lett me consider, if a Traytor be hatefull, she that betrayes the soule of one is much worse; — the danger, the sin of it. Then without pretending to witt, how quiet and pleasant a thing it is to be silent, or if I doe speake, that it be to the Glory of God. — Lord, assist me.

"Att Church lett me mind in what place I am; what about to ask, even the salvation of my soule; to whome I speak, — to the God that made me, redeemed and sanctifyed me, and can yett cutt me off when he pleases. — O Lord, assist me." — p. 10.

"Be sure still to read that for the drawing roome in the privy chamber, or presence, or other place before prayers, and soe againe into the drawing room for an hour or soe; and then slipp to my chamber and divert myself in reading some pretty booke, because the Queene does not require my waiteing; after this to supper, which must not be much if I have dyned well; and att neither meale to eate above two dishes, because temperance is

best both for soule and body; then goe upp to the Queen, haveing before read, and well thought of what you have written. Amen.

"Sett not up above halfe an hour after eleaven att most; and as you undress, repeate that prayer againe; butt before, consider that you are perhapps goeing to sleepe your last; being in bedd repeate your hymne softly, ere you turne to sleepe."— p. 11.

"In the morning, wakeing, use a short devotion and then as soone as ever you awake, rise immediately to praise him. The Lord assist me." — p. 12.

"I have vowed, if it be possible, not to sett upp past ten o'clock; therefore, before you engage in company, goe downe and read this, and be as much alone as you can; and when you are abroad talke to men as little as may be: carry your prayer booke in your pockett, or any thing that may decently keepe you from converseing with men." — pp. 13, 14.

It should be borne in mind that these rules of her daily life were written at least four years after that noticeable walk which Mr. Pepys took with his wife in Whitehall garden in the spring of 1662. The morals of the court had in no wise improved since that worthy gentleman recorded what he saw and heard during his walk. "There was but little in those days to do any body good," says a sturdy thinker in our own time; and it was well that Mrs. Godolphin cherished such rules to govern her life in the midst of a court where she was, of necessity, brought into frequent communication with such men as Rochester and Buckingham, — to say nothing of the royal brothers, — and such women as Castlemaine, Shrewsbury, and Miss Stewart. It was by her constant habit of prayer, joined with a deep conviction of the utter worthlessness of the courtiers, that she was enabled to preserve the purity and integrity of her character in those days of the grossest immorality. In this habit of prayer she persevered from her childhood until her death.

At length, but some time after Sir John Coventry's bold speech in Parliament, she became disgusted with the follies and vices of the court, and sought to withdraw to scenes better suited to her tastes. Mr. Evelyn relates that

"She had frequently told me, that Seaven yeares was enough and too much, to trifle any longer there: and, accordingly, one day that I least dream't of it, she came expressly to my lodgeing

and acquainted me with her Intention to goe [and] live att Berkeley House, and that if she did alter her condition by Marriage, it should be when she was perfectly free, and had essayed how her detachment from Royall servitude would comport with her before she determin'd concerning another change. I happen'd to be with her in the Queens withdrawing roome, when a day or two after, finding her oppertunity, and that there was less company, she begg'd leave of their Majestyes to retire; never shall I forgett the humble and becomeing address she made, nor the Joy that discover'd its selfe in this Angells countenance, above any thing I had ever observed of transport in her, when she had obtained her suite; for, I must tell you, Madam, she had made some attempts before without success, which gave her much anxietie. Their Majesties were both vnwilling to part with such a Jewell." — p. 31.

She remained in the society of her friends at Berkeley House and at Twickenham Park, the country-seat of Lord Berkeley, for a considerable length of time. In December, 1674, she made her last appearance at court, and sustained the part of Diana in "Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph," which was acted before the court in that month. Among the other principal performers were Lady Henrietta Wentworth, best known from her connection with the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, Miss Jennings, afterwards married to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and the two daughters of the Duke of York, both of whom subsequently sat on the throne of England. She seems to have been quite unwilling to take a part in the performance, and to have been in great distress of mind during the whole time, so indisposed was she to return to those scenes of pompous vice.

In the following spring she was privately married to Sidney Godolphin, who was afterwards Lord High Treasurer under Queen Anne, after a reciprocal attachment which had lasted unimpaired for nine years. The marriage was not acknowledged until about a year after, upon her return from France, whither she accompanied Lady Berkeley, when that lady's husband was appointed ambassador to the court of Louis the Fourteenth. Mr. Godolphin remained in England. Mrs. Godolphin had been in France once before, previously to the Restoration, "though I remember not on what occasion," says Mr. Evelyn.* During this visit, she seems to have remained in great seclusion. Mr. Evelyn says: —

* This admission is worthy of notice, as it confirms a remark we have made on a previous page.

"And tho' the Report of such a Beauty and Witt had soe forerun her arrivall, by some who had known her in the Circle att Court, that the French King was desireous to see her in that att Saint Germans; yett she soe order'd matters as to avoid all occasions of goeing thither, and came back to England without giveing that great Monarch the satisfaction of one Glaunce, or her selfe of the Splendor or Vanity of his Court; which is so singular a Note in her sex, and of one naturally soe curious and observeing, that I cannot pass it over without a just remarke, especially being a Lady soe infinitely compleasant, and of a nature soe obligeing, Mistress alsoe of the French Tongue to such perfection, as rendered her capable of entertaining Persons of the highest quality, nor was this reservdness out of humour or singularity." — p. 64.

The accuracy of Mr. Evelyn's last remark admits of some doubt, as we may show before we conclude this article. While in Paris, she wrote the following letter to Mr. Evelyn, whose son had been sent to France under her charge.

"My Friend, I promised you an Account of our Journey hither; there was nothing in it of exterordnary, no ill accident, nothing like Pintos Travells. Since I came to Paris, I have hardly been out of doores to visit any body, butt there has been a Preist to visitt me; butt without Vanity I think I said as much for my Opinion as he did for his. I am now reading Mounsieur Clauds Defence de la Reformation, and like it most exceedingly; soe as you need have noe fear of me on that side. God knows, the more one sees of their Church, the more one finds to dislike in itt; I did not imagine the tenth part of the Superstition I find in it, yett still could approve of their Orders. Their Nunneryes seem to be holy Institutions, if they are abused 'tis not their fault: what is not perverted? Marriage itt selfe is become a snare, and People seem to dispose of their Children young, lest the remedy increase the dissease: butt when I have commended that baile of theirs, I have said for them, I think, all that reasonably can be said. One thing I must tell you, Friend, People can have the Spleens here in Paris, lett them say what they will of the Aire; butt if Arithmetick will cure itt, I am goeing with my Charge, your Son, to be a very hard Student, and wee intend to be very wise." — p. 65.

She did not long remain where she found so little that interested her, and returned to England. Her marriage was soon after acknowledged, and she lived happily with her husband in the quiet practice of the Christian virtues until her

death, which happened a little more than two years after. About the time that the citizens of London were beginning to talk of the pretended discovery of the Popish Plot, — on the ninth of September, 1678, — this excellent woman died, at the early age of twenty-six, leaving one son, Francis Godolphin, who married the eldest daughter of the Duke of Marlborough. Mrs. Godolphin was born at the period of England's highest glory ; she died at the period of England's deepest shame ; but through all those changes she preserved a character of remarkable purity. Thus far we have spoken only of her virtues ; it is proper now to speak of her defects, and to endeavour to discover their causes, that others may draw a profitable lesson from her life.

Owing to the very imperfect manner in which both Mr. Evelyn and his editor have performed their duties, it is exceedingly difficult to form a clear idea of her character in all its parts. We believe, however, that a careful examination of the volume before us will enable us to form a pretty correct judgment of the principal features of her moral and intellectual constitution. Mr. Evelyn thus sums up his view of her character : —

" Never was there a more unspotted virgin, a more loyall wife, a more sincere friend, a more consummate Christian ; add to this, a florid youth, an exquisite and naturall beauty, and gracefullness the most becomeing. Nor was she to be disguised : there was nothing more quick and peircing than her apprehension, nothing more faithfull than her memory, more solid and mature than her Judgment, insomuch as I have heard her husband affirm to me (whose discernment all that have the honour to know him will allow to be exterordinary) that even in the greatest difficultyes and occasions, he has both asked and preferred her advice with continuall success, and with those solid parts she had all the advantages of a most sparkling witt, a naturall Eloquence, a gentle and agreeable tone of voice, and a charming accent when she spake, whilst the Charmes of her countenance were made up of the greatest Innocence, modesty, and goodness Imaginable, agreeable to the Composure of her thoughts, and the union of a thousand perfections : add to all this, she was Just, Invincible, secrett, ingeniously sinceere, faithfull in her promises, and to a Miracle, temperate, and mistress of her passions and resolutions, and soe well had she imployed her spann of tyme, that as oft as I consider how much she knew, and writt, and did, I am plainly astonished, and blush even for my selfe. O how delightfull entertaining was this Lady, how grave her discourse, how unlike the con-

versation of her sex, when she was the most facetious, it would allwayes end in a chearfull composedness the most becomeing in the world, for she was the tenderest Creature living of taking advantage of anothers Imperfections; nothing could be more humble and full of Compassion, nothing more disposed to all offices of kindness. In a word, what perfections were scatered amongst others of her sex, seem'd here to be united, and she went every day improveing, shineing brighter, and ascending still in vertue." — pp. 121, 122.

This is written in the partial language of warm friendship, and is hardly warranted by strict truth. Mrs. Godolphin naturally possessed a lively and amiable disposition, a gentle and confiding nature, a generous heart, and a fund of wit and genial humor; but she afterwards became of a more reserved and somewhat sombre character, she lost her confidence in those whom she loved, and, in general, acquired a more ascetic tone. It was shown in our July number that the defects in Dr. Payson's character grew out of the ungenial system of theology which he advocated; in precisely the same manner, as we believe, is this change in Mrs. Godolphin to be ascribed to the ungenial system in which she was educated. Dr. Payson was a strict Calvinist of the old school; Mrs. Godolphin was a rigid Episcopalian, fashioned a good deal after the pattern of Archbishop Laud and the High Churchmen of those days, — but with this difference, that she entertained a cordial dislike of the Roman Catholic religion, which Laud did not. This system dimmed the natural graces of her character, but could not wholly obscure them. It made her far less happy than she would otherwise have been. It deprived her of many innocent joys, and threw over her whole life that form of despondency which too often embitters the domestic life of estimable persons. For a long time it prevented her from marrying one whom she dearly loved, and who she knew was every way worthy of her, and made her grieve over imaginary sins. Instead of that calm, trusting, submissive faith, which is best suited to the growth of religious principles in the soul, it produced a feverish and unnatural state of excitement. It gave to many of her acts a tinge of singularity, and of monkish austerity. It probably caused her early death, by her rigorous observance of the Church fasts; and through life it frequently made her miserable and unhappy. "Seldome or rarely," says Mr. Evelyn,

"came I to waite on her, (if she were not in company) but I found her in her little oratorie, and *some tymes all in feares*," etc.* Writing to Mr. Evelyn, she gives utterance to these words, which seem to us to indicate the struggle going on in her heart between her gentle affections and her morbid fear of some imaginary sin:—"*The Lord help me, dear freind, I know not what to determine;* sometymes I think one thing, sometymes another; one day I fancy noe life soe pure as the vnmarryed, another day I think it less exemplarye, and that the marryed life has more oppertunity of exerciseing Charity; and then againe that 'tis full of solicitude and worldlyness, *soe as what I shall doe, I know not.*" † Indeed, nearly all her letters, and her whole course of life for three or four years previous to her marriage, and just before her last sickness, show the existence of this nervous state of mind.

A tendency to gloom, then, as we conceive, growing out of a harsh, unyielding creed and a formal religion, was the chief defect in her character, and the source of nearly all her other defects. This explains many things in her life for which it would otherwise be difficult to account. Yet the editor boasts that "she was a true daughter of the Church of England. Puritanism did not contract her soul into moroseness; nor did she go to Rome to learn the habits of piety." ‡ We shall not stop to argue this point. It is sufficient for us to allude to Mrs. Hutchinson for a vindication of Puritanism from the charge implied in the editor's sneer,—that it contracted the soul into moroseness. So great is our admiration of that noble woman, that we cannot allow this opportunity to pass without bestowing upon her that meed of praise which she so richly deserves. Her natural character seems to have been much like Mrs. Godolphin's. She, too, possessed a generous heart, great beauty, a keen wit, and all worthy affections. She was fond of reading, and early filled her mind with priceless treasures. "It pleased God," says she, "that, through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught." §

---

* p. 25. † p. 37. ‡ Introduction, p. xv.
§ Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson (5th edition), p. 18.

Her faith was founded on the everlasting truths contained in the Bible, and not on a religion of forms and ceremonies. She lived in scenes equally trying as those through which Mrs. Godolphin passed, but never did despondency sadden her heart with its chilling influence, — not even when her husband was languishing and dying in a distant prison, and her tender cares could not soothe his last hour. When she had shed her last tear over his lifeless body, she sat down and wrote those admirable Memoirs for the use of her children, that they might cherish and imitate their father's virtues. Mrs. Hutchinson's faith exalted her in the hour of trial; Mrs. Godolphin's faith degraded her when trouble or doubt came. But though we cannot bestow on Margaret Godolphin that high degree of admiration which the noble life, Christian character, and rare intellect of Lucy Hutchinson claim, still we find in a careful survey of her life much to honor and admire. May those who cannot emulate the proud preëminence of Mrs. Hutchinson at least strive to keep themselves, like Mrs. Godolphin, "unspotted from the world." C. C. S.

Art. IV. — ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.*

The subject of capital punishment is likely to be thoroughly discussed. Throughout our own country especially,

---

* 1. *Report in Favor of the Abolition of the Punishment of Death by Law, made to the Legislature of the State of New York, April* 14, 1841. By John L. O'Sullivan. New York. 1841. 8vo. pp. 168.

2. *An Essay on the Ground and Reason of Punishment, with special Reference to the Penalty of Death.* By Taylor Lewis, Esq. *And a Defence of Capital Punishment.* By Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 1847. 12mo. pp. 365.

3. *Essays on the Punishment of Death.* By Charles Spear. Eleventh Edition. Boston. 1845. 12mo. pp. 237.

4. *Thoughts on the Death-Penalty.* By Charles C. Burleigh. Second Edition. Philadelphia. 1847. 12mo. pp. 144.

5. *Dissertation on Capital Punishment.* By S. S. Schmucker, D. D. Third Edition. Philadelphia. 1845. 8vo. pp. 31.

6. *Argument of Benjamin F. Porter, in Support of a Bill, introduced by him, in the House of Representatives of Alabama, to abrogate the Punishment of Death.* Tuscaloosa. 1846. 8vo. pp. 20.

7. *Argument of Edward Livingston against Capital Punishment. Published by the New York State Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 24.

tracts, essays, sermons, reviews, legislative reports, are appearing, which show that the public mind is becoming aroused on a subject upon which hardly a word was said twenty years ago. Some of these publications, on both sides, have reached four or more editions, indicating apparently that action is about to be taken, after a more or less thorough examination of the proposed reform. One of our States, Michigan, has already swept the death-penalty from her statute-book, and her recent legislature has confirmed the act of the previous one, abolishing the penalty entirely. A new State like this we should hardly have expected would take the lead in mitigating the criminal code; and we cannot but feel that the change is made under far more doubtful circumstances than exist in either New York or Pennsylvania, where the abolition has been eagerly looked for by its friends.

It is because we believe the time has fully come when the penitentiary must be substituted for the gallows, because the question is frequently reduced to this, "Shall there be a modified punishment or no punishment at all?" because (as we expect to show) the present law fails to secure the respect of the community, because some juries will sooner break their oaths than send a fellow-being to the gallows upon the usual circumstantial evidence, because such is the growing sense of the severity of this penalty that it suggests to able counsel the means of evading its infliction and turning loose on society desperate criminals, that we desire to examine the subject, first in regard to the Scriptural argument, and, secondly, as to the necessity, justice, and certainty of capital punishments.

Its defenders, whether from the pulpit or the press, rely mainly upon the support of the Scriptures. The widely circulated treatise by Dr. Schmücker, and the celebrated essays by Messrs. Lewis and Cheever, spend their chief strength upon the Bible argument. In this respect, the proposed reform has fared very much like the Antislavery and Peace movements, which have preceded and prepared the way for it.

Now it is not a little remarkable that the single passage

---

8. *Third Annual Address before the New York State Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* [By Hon. J. H. Titus.] February, 1847.

9. *Report of Select Committee on the Abolition of Capital Punishment.* State of New York. In Assembly, March 5, 1847. 8vo. pp. 121.

from Genesis, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," assumed by Dr. Cheever and all his party in this discussion to be a universal, everlasting law, most convenient for citation because of its comprehensive brevity, is never cited as a law, never appealed to, and never hinted at, in any case of murder through the whole Jewish history. Blood is repeatedly avenged by blood, but not because of this supposed edict, not with any avowed reference to any such command from Jehovah. The murderer receives what he had given, because such were the exigencies of a rude state of society and an imperfect civilization, such was the prompting of passions which no one thought of restraining, which it was even considered virtuous to gratify. Either this justice, or none, was to be exacted. And family pride, the fear of suffering high-handed outrage to pass with that impunity which tempts to crime, the absence of any other mode of restraining the hand of violence, the tie of kindred, which was thought to bind one to avenge a friend's wrongs, all demanded life for life.

So far was Genesis ix. 6 from being regarded as absolute authority (to say nothing of the cities of refuge provided by Moses for the manslayer), that very frequently the murderer escapes entirely, and no excuse is attempted for the violation of an "inviolable law" of God. Previously to this declaration, Cain and Lamech committed murders; yet, instead of Jehovah's setting the example to human governments of taking life for life, Cain is expressly defended by him, and Lamech comforts his wives with the hope that he shall share the same Divine protection from any revenge which threatened the acknowledged homicide. And so he did, having the long life-lease of seven hundred and seventy-seven years. Again, under the same covenant, and almost immediately upon the publication of this supposed edict, Simeon and Levi commit a deliberate massacre, aggravated by perjury and sacrilege. They induce the inhabitants of Shechem to receive the initiatory rite of circumcision, and, while disabled from defence by an act of religion, commenced in good faith, the whole people are swept off at one stroke. Where was this "universal law" then? Was pious Jacob ignorant of its meaning? or had he less readiness than Abraham to sacrifice his children to the will of Jehovah? A severe reproof satisfied the patriarch's sense of justice. His dying curse remembered their frightful

crime ; but neither Jehovah nor his devoted servant, we had almost said his vicegerent, attempted any thing more. The law, if a law, was plainly not in force in its own day.

After this period, no mention of " whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," appears in the course of Scripture, while the violation of the principle of blood for blood is of frequent occurrence. Neither does human life appear to have been especially secure among the Jews, nor the law of retaliation to have been universally established. David slew the Amalekite directly and Uriah indirectly, Absalom murdered Amnon, Abimelech murdered seventy brethren, Doeg butchered eighty-five priests ; and though most of these murders were deliberate, committed in cold blood, their authors lived on, and some of them at least enjoyed the fruit of their crimes. So much for the commentary of Scripture upon Scripture. In a period of which but few incidents remain on record, a period when by a later covenant than that given to Noah the penalty of death was attached to murder, every form of wanton, cold-blooded human butchery takes place, and murderers escape that penalty beneath the immediate jurisdiction of Jehovah.

But, passing from this unintentional and decisive testimony of Jewish kings and prophets, as to the observance of the injunction, let us examine the passage itself, which Dr. Cheever pronounces " the citadel of our argument, commanding and sweeping the whole subject."

It is not a little unfortunate for the advocates of capital punishment, that its chief defence has to be sought in a dispensation not our own, not even directly preparatory to our own, but reaching back into the dim starlight of the very rudest civilization, — among commands (if commands they are) of a local and temporary kind, as part and parcel of a law condemning the use of the blood of animals as food, and dooming the brute which had even accidentally taken the life of man to be slain. If revelation was intended to be progressive, if the different dispensations afford unequivocal signs of advance one upon another, if human life has been every day these four thousand years rising in sanctity, it will be hard to arrest the humanity of the nineteenth century of Christianity by a single clause in the covenant given to Noah. One line from the Sermon on the Mount, " I say unto you, resist not," that is, repay not, " evil," will be felt to be of more worth than all this obsolete dispensation.

But the whole force of the passage rests upon the use of the word "shall." The advocates of the death-penalty insist upon substituting "must," as if the true and only reading was, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man *must* his blood be shed." Letting alone various interpretations made by scholars of all denominations, long before this discussion commenced, which relieve it entirely of its supposed mandatory character, we have abundant Scriptural authority for adhering to the simplest sense of the passage, as merely a prediction, like the saying of Cain, "Whoso findeth me *shall* slay me." "Bloody and deceitful men *shall* not live out half their days." "Every living thing that moveth *shall* be meat for you." "Whoso diggeth a pit *shall* fall therein." These passages, and a multitude of others, show the usage of the Old Testament in regard to expressions precisely similar. They prove that the declaration has no necessary weight beyond a prediction; that it is properly and fairly a prediction concerning the usual course of events in the treatment of the most terrible of crimes.

Commentators are by no means agreed as to the force of the passage. Professor Upham pronounces it the indefinite form of the Hebrew future; Professor Turner, a distinguished Hebrew scholar of the Episcopalian Church, says it may be permissive, but cannot be obligatory; and Professor Stuart declares it to be the most passive form which the language permits.* The older annotators generally repeat the common view of the passage without any remarks. Their attention had not been called to any reasons for a different opinion; their court gave its judgment upon the hasty hearing of a single side: were they able to review their decisions, a large number would no doubt accord with the advanced humanity of our day. Le Clerc, however, understood the passage as we understand it, as a prediction of what would generally occur. Pascal quotes the Vulgate, "Whoso sheddeth human blood, his blood will be shed," not saying by whom; and adds, that this general prohibition

* A very learned defence of capital punishment, by Professor Goodwin, of Bowdoin College, in the Bibliotheca Sacra for May last, admits that "the English translation, in this particular at least, furnishes just as good a basis on which to construct the meaning of the text as the original does." The particular is that which we are now considering. "The original language has no other form for either [the future or the imperative] and may therefore be understood here in either sense; and so may the English by which our translators have rendered it." — Bibliotheca Sacra, pp. 319, 320.

takes away from man all authority over the life of man. Calvin also objects to the rendering "*by* man" (which is certainly not the necessary force of the Hebrew particle), and Olivet translates it "*through* man," giving it also a future sense.

A favorite argument with the advocates of the present punishment is, that, "while the reason of a law stands, the law must stand." The converse of this must be equally true, and when the reason ceases for any enactment, it should be repealed. Now three distinct reasons existed for capital punishment in ancient time, which are just as much reasons against that particular punishment now.

First, under the patriarchal and Jewish dispensations, Jehovah himself being the judge, the innocent could not be punished by mistake for the guilty. In every case of doubt and difficulty, the rulers of Israel sought and received Divine direction, sometimes by the Urim and Thummim, sometimes by the mysterious voice, sometimes through prophets and special messengers, sometimes by the supernatural punishment of the guilty; so that it was hardly possible for any mistake to be made. The chief reason which moved Lafayette to say he must protest against the penalty of death, because its administrators were so fallible, was not then in existence. The penalty could be affixed only where it was due. The decision rested, not upon an often deceptive combination of circumstances, but upon Him that readeth the heart and knoweth all things. With us, on the other hand, no one would believe, who had not studied the matter, how frequently mistakes have been committed, and the innocent sacrificed for the guilty. A parliamentary return, some time ago in England, showed, that, for many years, the average of the innocent executed for supposed guilt, whose sentence was reversed when it was too late, was one in every three years. But what numbers must have perished, protesting their innocence to the last breath, referring their misjudged cause to the only infallible tribunal, but having no friend powerful, wealthy, or zealous enough to care to do their memories justice! As the executed are commonly outcasts, bearing in their own body the only interested witness of their guiltlessness, thousands of such cases may astonish us in another world by an entire reversal of the sentence passed in this. Smollett's History relates one instance in which "the real criminals assisted at the execution of the innocent man, heard

his appeal to Heaven from the scaffold, and embraced him in the character of friends as he stood on the brink of eternity." In only one year, in France, seven cases occurred, in which persons condemned by the inferior courts were found innocent by the superior. Dymond, in his "Essays on the Principles of Morality," mentions six as having been hanged at one assize, and afterwards found to be innocent. O'Connell, in a speech at Exeter Hall, reported three such cases as occurring in a short space of time in his own practice.

And, what is the worst of all, such mistakes are inevitable from the circumstantial evidence on which juries decide, and the unphilosophical views regarding insanity which still becloud all human tribunals of justice. Convictions are generally obtained through a combination of suspicious events, all fastening upon the accused as the guilty; and yet those appearances may be wholly deceptive, may be arranged by the real criminal to screen himself. O'Sullivan shows, in his masterly Report, how all such signs of guilt may fail entirely of proving it. We give the passage in an abridged form.

"There have been cases in which two old enemies have been seen fighting in a field, one found dead, killed by a pitchfork belonging to the other, and which that other had been carrying, and yet the real murderer has been afterward found on the jury that tried him. An innkeeper has been charged with the murder of a traveller, — one servant deposing to having seen his master on the stranger's bed, strangling and robbing him, — another swearing that he saw his master bury the gold in a particular spot, where the money was found, and where the master confessed he hid it: he was hung, of course, though innocent. Violent language has been heard between a father and a daughter, — the words "barbarity," "cruelty," "death," have been frequently heard from the latter, — the former goes out, locking the door behind him, — groans are overheard, — the room is opened, and the daughter is found dying, and her gestures intimate that her father is the cause; he is executed, and before the year has passed, she is proved to have committed suicide." — p. 119.

Courts of law still fail of taking a just view of insanity in its connection with crime; juries are very unwilling to listen to evidence tending to an acquittal on this ground; and great numbers have, no doubt, perished on the scaffold for no other crime than a diseased mind. Drs. Ray, Brigham, and Woodward have been unwearied in pressing upon

public attention the necessity of an entire reform in the criminal law regarding insanity. Dr. Brigham remarks in a letter recently published: —

"To my mind there is no stronger argument in favor of abolishing capital punishments than the impossibility of deciding whether some homicides are insane or not. There is no sure criterion of insanity; no sure test of its existence, by which it may be certainly recognized. Bellingham, who was executed in London for killing Mr. Percival, was undoubtedly insane; and numerous other cases in that country and on the Continent of Europe I could give you, if necessary, where persons have been executed for crimes committed under the sole influence of insanity. There are instances enough of the like kind in this country: Goss, in Connecticut, Cook, at Schenectady, Prescott, in New Hampshire, Baker, in Kentucky, occur to my memory; besides Cornell, condemned to be hung, but [who] had his sentence commuted by Governor Bouck to imprisonment for life at Auburn, where he now is an insane man; and Wilcox of Schenectady, likewise condemned to be hung, but [who] had his sentence commuted by Governor Wright, on the ground of insanity, and is now insane in Clinton prison."

The Law Reporter for May closes an article, attributed to Dr. Ray, upon the "Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases," by stating that "the law is now as far from being settled as ever." The doctrine now practically established was laid down by Coke and Hale at a time when insanity was not understood, and had hardly begun to be investigated. It was, that there must be a total privation of memory and understanding to protect a man from criminal responsibility. Mr. Justice Tracy, in 1783, laid it down as law, that the insane man "is totally deprived of his understanding and his memory, and doth not know what he is doing more than an infant, a brute, or a wild beast; such a one is never the object of punishment." Such an insane person, Dr. Bell well remarks, was never, probably, brought before a court, and never will be. Sir Vicary Gibbs, in 1810, laid down the principle of the English law thus: — "I say this upon the authority of the first sages in this country, and upon the authority of the established law in all times, which law has never been questioned, that, although a man be incapable of conducting his own affairs, he may still be answerable for criminal acts, if he possess a mind capable of distinguishing right from wrong." And Lord Mansfield indorses this au-

thoritative declaration. Now this very test has been applied at the principal asylums throughout the country, especially at Utica, and the result has been, that not over ten per cent. of the whole number were entirely unable to distinguish right from wrong, and therefore exempt from legal responsibility.

When, in 1843, McNaughten murdered Sir Robert Peel's secretary, under the delusion, not that Mr. Drummond was about to injure him, but that a crew of enemies were pursuing him everywhere, the House of Lords proposed to the law-judges of England certain questions upon this very subject. The decision of the judges was worthless. It was vitiated by the error of supposing that the whole conduct of a deranged man is necessarily controlled by his delusion, — that there is a perfect method in madness. The fact is quite otherwise. There are instances of many an insane person "in the ordinary transactions of life conducting himself and his affairs rationally, a sensible, clever man, amassing a considerable fortune by his profession, taking good care of his property, and never even suspected of derangement by several of his friends and acquaintances, some of them medical men." *

But we find that this branch of the subject is leading us too far. Contrast with the fact, that the highest medical authority pronounces it impossible to prescribe any certain general criterion for derangement, the kind of testimony which procured the conviction of Dr. Abner Baker in Kentucky. After a moment's attention to so recent an experience (Baker having suffered the sentence of the law in October, 1845), it will be needless to urge any further the fallibility of our tribunals, in opposition to the infallibility directing the administration of justice in the ancient times, under an abiding inspiration. Only two physicians were summoned, one on each side. Dr. Reid, the government witness, testified that "a person who can lay all his plans for accomplishing any thing to be desired would not be laboring under insanity"; as plain a contradiction as words can make of facts well known to every visitor in an insane asylum. It was proved that the suspicions which had prompted Baker to the murder were entirely baseless, the creations of a mind whose eccentricity had been becoming more and more marked for six years; and yet, the very part of the jury which recommended

* Prichard on Insanity, p. 268.

him to mercy, instead of firmly maintaining that insanity; which Dr. Allen, the head of their State Asylum, pronounced unquestionable, only say "that he was in a state of mental excitement and delusion, which *may be considered* insanity"; words which seem by their timidity to cower before the armed mob who watched the deliberations with the bloodshot eyes of revenge. Will it be believed that the victim of this brutal ignorance had for years thought himself haunted by persons who had conspired to kill him, — that "he looked all the while as if just recovering from a severe sickness," — that his brother, a physician, testified to the general disorder of his system, — that he had long neglected his business to lose himself in gloomy reveries, — that, when first tried, he was discharged by a magistrate on the ground of insanity, — and that, when his family surrendered him to the requisitions of the governor, he had been residing at Cuba for the sake of his health?

The absurdity of the plea of insanity was more vehemently denounced by the public in the case of William Freeman, a noted murderer, than in any other instance of recent occurrence. And now Freeman is dead, and seven physicians, with Dr. Brigham of the Utica Asylum at their head, have dissected his brain, and the result leaves no doubt that the public were wholly wrong in scouting a defence upon the ground of lunacy. Drs. Brigham, McCall, Briggs, Van Epps, Fosgate, Hyde, and Luce agree that "the brain presented the appearance of chronic disease; that the arachnoid membrane was congested; that the medullary portion was of an unnatural color, and harder than natural, as if parboiled; that the posterior portion of the skull appeared diseased, and the dura mater at that point unnaturally adherent; and that the left temporal bone, in the vicinity of the auditory nerve, was carious and much diseased." We suppose that Ex-governor Seward now stands amply vindicated, not only on the score of humanity, but on every principle of justice. *

* For those who seek further light upon this "Plea of Insanity," we subjoin the authorities quoted by Mr. Merrill in the famous Tyrrel case: — Dr. Elliotson on the Human Physiology. Dr. Wygam on the Duality of the Mind, p. 260. Jane C. Rider's Case, pp. 34, 35, 39, 40. Silliman's Journal, I., pp. 288, 432. Dr. Prichard on Insanity, p. 288. Dr. Ray on Insanity, p. 386, et seqq. Dr. Guy's Medical Jurisprudence, p. 265. Winslow's Plea on Insanity, I., p. 89. Sampson's Criminal Jurisprudence, p. 39. Trial of Abner Rogers, pp. 80, 81. Dr Taylor's Medical Jurisprudence, p. 650. Spurzheim's Phrenology, I., p. 143, et seqq. Good's Book of Na-

A second ground of argument, to show that the reasons for the "blood for blood" custom have ceased, is, that four thousand years ago the execution of a notorious criminal was a necessary offering to the peace of society. The only way in which further violence could be prevented was to thrust the violent man out of life. There are no traces in the patriarchal age, nor for weary years after, of any safe houses for the detention of criminals, still less of penitentiaries for their reform. Had there been even private places of secure confinement, like the castle-dungeons of the Middle Ages, we should certainly have found some allusion to their use, — in the case, for instance, of those state-criminals whom David exiled from his capital, or commanded to remain within their own walls. It is not sufficient to say, with Dr. Cheever, that "the state of society in which a tower of Babel was built was not likely to suffer for want of a jail." Society then might have been unconscious of its want, might have enjoyed rather than suffered through the privilege of instant retaliation, suitable to a savage state. It is not the ability of that period to erect state-prisons, which we call in question; a den from which no living being could escape need not be a work of the highest art; a rock rolled against a cave's mouth might be security enough. Our assertion is, that there was no call for such criminal apparatus at that early day. Society took a more rapid and simple way of satisfying the instinct of justice. It often demanded the penalty of the crime on the spot where it was committed.

On the other hand, we maintain, that physically, as well as morally, imprisonment for life is perfectly safe now. All admit that criminals can be effectually restrained from adding crime to crime without the taking of life. Many object to the proposed reform, on account of the social exposure which it would occasion. This popular prejudice is answered by the safety of Egypt during fifty years' abolition of the penalty, of Rome during two hundred and fifty, when the highest authorities declare that the republic flourished and order was preserved, of Tuscany during a quarter of a century, of Russia professedly from Elizabeth's time to the present, of Bombay during the administration of Sir James Mackintosh, of Paraguay under the Jesuits, and of Belgium since 1830. Michigan has lately made a similar trial with success.

---

ture, chap. on Sleep. Upham's Intellectual Philosophy. Abercrombie on Intellectual Powers, p. 218, et seqq.

We maintain that the safety of society would be promoted by the disuse of capital punishments, and that crime is prompted or occasioned by every infliction of this brutal severity. At the time when the mother country punished capitally one hundred and sixty crimes, life was far less safe than at present; under Henry the Eighth seventy-two thousand thieves were hanged, and yet robbery upon the highways everywhere prevailed, and the suburbs of the principal cities were infested by mercenary assassins.* Wherever laws have become less cruel, they have been more regularly enforced, and criminals have been awed by the certainty of strict justice far more than by any increase of severity, — a principle conceded by all writers and thinkers of the present day. Dr. Schmücker, himself an earnest advocate of the death-penalty, states that the mitigation of punishment in the case of highway robbery in Pennsylvania has been followed by the best effects, in a sensible diminution, almost a disappearance, of that crime. Why should murder alone be an exception to this general law, when the appalling nature of the murderer's doom causes jurors to trifle with their oaths, and witnesses to refuse testimony, and governors to pardon beyond all reason, — the whole resulting already, in the experience of Pennsylvania, in twenty-two chances of escape for one of conviction of persons accused, and many of them, no doubt, guilty? Were the punishment such as humane men could approve, a punishment that promised to reform its subject and not degrade its witnesses, the proportion might be reversed, and not four in a hundred of the justly suspected elude the violated law. In Rome, under the mild administration of the present Pope, crimes are represented to have vastly decreased, and public morals to have received an immediate impulse by the disuse of the more revolting penalties.

Some facts there are which go to show that imprisonment for life is more dreaded than the gallows. Cæsar is represented by Sallust as saying, — "De pœna, possumus equidem dicere id, quod res habet; in luctu atque miseriis mortem

* Alison states (chapter sixtieth of his History), that the punishment of death was affixed by statute to the fearful and almost incredible number of above six hundred different crimes, "while the increasing humanity of the age had made so wide a departure from the letter of the law, that, out of 1872 convicted in seven years at the Old Bailey, only *one* had been executed," — one out of nearly two thousand. Landor's saying is probably true, that the English law was bloodier than the laws of Draco, for "it punished with death crimes which he did not even notice."

ærumnarum *requiem, non cruciatum esse*; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curæ, neque gaudio locum esse." And in confirmation of this sentiment, seven hundred citizens of the United States are reported to have committed suicide in a single year; and seventeen hundred and forty-seven persons in the same space of time in France. In addition to this, many criminals have preferred the immediate and brief agony of suffocation to prolonged imprisonment, have resisted the efforts of counsel to obtain any commutation of their fate, and prayed their friends to let the trouble be over at once. Such was the case with Leadings, Charles Thomas, Cook, Noah M. Thomas, Babe, all of them examples of very recent occurrence in the State of New York. Mrs. Fry and the famous E. G. Wakefield were both led to the conclusion, that some other punishment ought to be substituted for death, by the habitual indifference of English convicts to their doom, by the jests about "dying game" which prevail at Newgate, and the exultation expressed by many a criminal in the thought of braving the terrors of the law. In making executions as private now as they were public once, many of our States have yielded to the friends of reform one of their strongest points, and agreed that this punishment is not a profitable sight for the community at large; so that, in regard to the infliction of the penalty, nine American States have decided that its practice is unfavorable to the security and virtue of society.*

A third reason which existed in former times for the penalty of death has also become a reason against it. The Gospel spirit of hope for the fallen was not anticipated by the dispensations which preceded it. Certainly, in the patriarchal times, where the custom of blood for blood takes its origin, no idea was entertained of bringing back the wanderer or saving the lost. And under the Jewish code, by which such vices as smiting or cursing of parents, early unchastity, and some forms of ceremonial uncleanness, were punished with

* Sir Thomas More in his "Utopia" evidently takes sides with reformers on the question of penalty. "An English lawyer run out into high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who were then hanged so fast that there were sometimes twenty hanging upon one gibbet; and added, that he could not wonder enough how it came to pass that there were so many thieves left robbing in all places." Raphael answered, "that it was because the punishment of death was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for, as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual." — More's Utopia: Burnet's Transl. p. 13.

death, it must have been a settled conviction that there was no such thing as reformation of criminals. A man who had once forfeited his social position or his spiritual birthright had forfeited it for ever. Nay, it must be acknowledged that institutions in which society really and in good earnest took this matter in hand only date back to the labors of Howard, and are not yet by any means universal, even in Christian lands; not so universal as they would be, we think, were this discouraging, barbarous, and vindictive law entirely obliterated.

It cannot be necessary to adduce facts to show that even the worst criminals can be recovered, — recovered to themselves and to society. No person has familiarized himself with the statistics of our best penitentiaries without being amazed at the proportion reported as reformed. In the institutions provided for juvenile offenders this result is very generally secured. And the Second Report of the New York Prison Association declares that "more than half the convicts discharged from our State prisons 'go and sin no more,' — repent of the crimes they have committed, and, despite of all obstacles, persevere in leading honest lives." And, with the progress still to be made in the use of greater humanity towards the inmates of prisons, and in securing them an honest support by constant labor after their discharge, there is no reason to doubt that the majority may be saved.

Of course, if the murderer can be brought back to a right mind, and led to sit in lowly penitence at the feet of Jesus, as far as he is concerned, hardly any but would shudder at the thought of his being hanged. Having injured him, perhaps, by all social disadvantages and oppressions, by ignorance, bad neighbourhood, abandoned parents, an utter destitution of friendship, counsel, or help, by appearing to restrict even its religious privileges to those well clothed and comfortably circumstanced, society can now make him some tardy reparation, can furnish him constant and healthy toil, moral and religious instruction, an entire isolation from all corrupting associates and associations, and, above all, hope, such as never visited him before, the hope of self-approbation here, and of the smile of God hereafter and for ever.

These three supports of the judicial infliction of death — the former hopelessness of criminal reformation, the peril of letting criminals escape their only punishment, and the infallibility of the Divinely taught tribunals of Judea — appear, on

examination, to be powerful arguments *against* the perpetuation of the same penalty, where courts are fallible to a proverb, where criminals can be secured almost as well as in the grave, where, too, a majority may be brought under healing and saving influences.

Of the Jewish dispensation no more need be said. We have little patience to discuss the Mosaic permission of retaliation, when it is well known that death was attached to thirty-three crimes, when Moses provided cities of refuge where the homicide should flee, when the appearance is of as great a progress in the amelioration of the criminal code as "the times of ignorance" would permit, and when, in the Sermon on the Mount, our Saviour introduces a far higher spirit into legislation, in terms which can hardly be mistaken.

There are, however, two passages in the New Testament, and some even quote a third, brought in support of capital punishment. One is Romans xiii. 4, — "If thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil."

"Here," says Dr. Schmücker, "the Apostle evidently refers to the existence of capital punishment, to the fact that the higher powers were ministers of God, and used the sword in decapitating or otherwise punishing transgression. Here, then, we have the Apostle Paul distinctly sanctioning the use of capital punishment. This view of the Apostle's injunction is placed, if possible, in a still stronger light by another declaration, in which he acknowledges the right of the Roman governor to deprive him of life, if he should be found on a fair trial guilty of any capital crime, — 'For if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die,' Acts xxv. 11, — thus admitting that there are crimes worthy of death, and that, if found guilty, he would not object to have the penalty inflicted on him."

We give this whole passage, as some have appeared to doubt if any such inference has been seriously made by any writers of ability. With regard to the passage which enjoins respect to the civil authorities of a heathen land, "the sword" was any thing but a token of capital punishment. The Jew executed by stoning, the Roman with the axe. Besides this, there were as death-penalties scourging, casting from the Tarpeian rock, strangling, hanging, burning alive, exposing to wild beasts, and drowning; but we hardly find

mention of the application of the sword (which was idolized as a noble weapon) to any such infamous end. The sword was and still is a military emblem, designating power sustained by an army, as the Roman was. In "the city of London the sword-bearer is one who carries the sword as an emblem of justice before the Lord Mayor." * In the Bible it means generally war; as, "I will bring a sword upon you," Leviticus xxvi. 25; and Revelation xix. 15, "Out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword."

But Dr. Cheever regards Paul as asserting the justice of this punishment in his own person, in the passage already quoted from Acts. All we can read in the declaration, "if guilty, I am willing to suffer," is an assertion of innocence. He stood in the attitude of a culprit, not a prophet. It was not for him, then, to question the law under which he was tried, or the penalties of that law. It would have been a tacit admission of that guilt, which it was his immediate duty to disprove. Barnes and Livermore, commentators of opposite schools, draw from the passage only an appropriate vindication of the Apostle's innocence. He submits himself to the full sweep of the law, confident that it cannot hurt a hair of his head.

The remaining quotation — "All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," Matthew xxvi. 52 — referred originally to that violent resistance of "the powers that be" which Peter was then hoping to make, and had no immediate reference to the crime of murder. The future, *shall* or *will*, is used, and not the tense of command. Its bearing now is to condemn all resort to the sword by individuals or nations, for self-defence or for aggressive war.

On the other hand, in the Sermon on the Mount our Lawgiver expressly declares, — "Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth: but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil." "Hath been said" by whom? By the Mosaic law of retaliation. In Exodus xxi. 24, and Deut. xix. 21, the very thing seems to be designated: — "And thine eye shall not pity; but life shall go for life, *eye for eye*, *tooth for tooth*, hand for hand, foot for foot." This enactment, then, rather this general principle, of the Mosaic institutions is repealed; and, instead of retaliation, our own Master pointedly condemns our returning blood for blood, and life for life. As Wordsworth beautifully says, —

* Webster.

"Before the world had passed her time of youth,
While polity and discipline were weak,
The precept, eye for eye and tooth for tooth,
Came forth, — a light, though but as of daybreak,
Strong as could then be borne. A Master meek
Proscribed the spirit fostered by that rule,
Patience *his* law, long-suffering *his* school,
And love the end which all through peace must seek."

Once, and once only, our Saviour was called upon to assist in inflicting the death-penalty provided by the law of Moses, in a case where there was no doubt of guilt. But, seeing the woman's hearty contrition, he simply said, "Go and sin no more," — showing, that, as his spirit prevailed upon earth, there would be hope for the fallen, and recovery for the lost, and mercy for the contrite, and a Father's house for the returning prodigal.

While there is not a word or letter in the New Testament which appears to justify the taking of life for life, while its spirit,* as it prevails, makes men more and more shudder at thus cutting short a brother-sinner's probation, we find that the early Christians considered the old penalty as repealed, and would not sanction capital punishment in the face of the commandment reënacted by Jesus, "Thou shalt not kill."

Governor Everett remarked to the legislature of Massachusetts, several years ago, that "The law must be respected as well as obeyed, or it will not be long obeyed. A state of things which deprives the Executive of the support of public sentiment in the conscientious discharge of his most painful duty is much to be deplored." He said this in regard to the various capital offences which yet darken the statutes of this State. It introduces the last thought which we have space to offer, — capital punishments are singularly *uncertain*, and

* The writer in the "Bibliotheca Sacra" sneers at any allusion to the spirit of the Gospel in this matter. He says (p. 297), — "It is an *inanis umbra*, a magnificent subject for declamation; but as for its logic, you might as well attempt to grasp a pure spirit in your arms as hope to feel or find its substance anywhere." One such passage as that in Dr. Arnold's fortieth sermon ("Christian Life, its Course," etc.) should silence this unseasonable pleasantry. "Latterly a better spirit has been awakened, and men have felt that it is no light thing to take away the life of a brother; that it is more Christian to amend an offender, if possible, than to destroy him." We do not quote Arnold as maintaining our view; we do not know that he did not; we only offer his incidental allusion to the Gospel as the expression of a sentiment which all must revere.

are becoming every year more and more doubtful. Where a human life is at stake, the reluctance of witnesses to testify, and of jurors to convict, the eagerness of some communities to petition for pardon, and the readiness of some governors to release, throw exceeding doubt over the course of criminal justice, and threaten to make the ineffectual penalties of the law encouragements to crime. In 1834, Lord Suffield stated to the British Parliament, that the well-known reluctance to prosecute, where the punishment was capital, had prevented the commitment of a large proportion of criminals, who now no longer escape punishment on that account, and that the proportion of convictions had increased for offences no longer capital.* He also stated, that "he held in his hand a list of five hundred and fifty-five perjured verdicts, delivered in fifteen years at the Old Bailey," — perjured to save the criminal's life by reducing the amount actually stolen below what was punishable by death.

In our own country, the experience of Philadelphia is especially alarming. It shows, as the London Morning Herald remarks of its own city, that "the shedding of human blood is a serious obstruction to the course of effective justice." Of one hundred and eleven charged with murder, during the last fifty years, in Philadelphia, only ten were convicted, and only half of this number actually suffered. Dallas's Reports, Vol. IV., give the case of a boy tried there for arson, and acquitted upon that capital charge, but tried immediately after upon the *same evidence*, for a misdemeanour *at the same time*, and found guilty. On a recent occasion, in New York, Judge Lewis, of Pennsylvania, related some cases within his own knowledge of the escape of undoubted murderers, and gave it as his opinion that the penalty prevented its own execution, and acted almost as a bounty upon crime. In various parts of the country it is becoming next to impossible to procure a jury willing to give a verdict for a capital offence. In the trial of Andrew Howard, at Dover, N. H., for murder, seven hundred persons were rejected from the jury on this account. In the case of Andrew Kleim, tried recently in New York, for arson and murder,

* If the statement made in several papers, to the effect that the mitigation of the English code had increased crime in England, be correct, this would show that the only real change was the detection and punishment of many offences which had formerly been passed by or screened from punishment on account of the appalling severity of the penalty.

nearly the whole day was consumed in filling up the jury. So with Gordon, in Rhode Island, McCurry, in Maryland, and Polly Bodine, in a more recent case. It has been reported, without contradiction, that the city of Providence could not furnish enough for a jury to sit upon Gordon's life.

Dr. Cheever replies to every such argument for change, — "Make the penalty certain, oblige jurors to keep to their oaths, compel men to lay aside their scruples about the sanctity of human life, deprive governors of their pardoning power," etc. Does he not see that the overwhelming tide of popular opinion is setting the other way, — that, even without the public discussion of a repeal, the growing humanity of the age promises to sweep away penalties which it will not inflict and cannot justify? Every expression of interest in penitentiaries and houses of reformation, every dawning of sympathy towards "discharged convicts" and penitent criminals, every increase of reverence for human life, alike aggravating the guilt of murder and awakening horror at the thought of our exacting blood for blood, serves to hasten the time when the death-penalty shall only be as the log thrown down for a king to the frogs, despised, insulted, defied, by those who once dreaded its power. Before that time shall draw any nearer, let us seek to put this matter on a just and permanent basis, according to the self-evident maxim of Edward Livingston, that "the law should never command more than it can enforce; and therefore, whenever, from public opinion or any other cause, a penal law cannot be carried into execution, it should be repealed." For well has one of our own poets sung, —

> "Thank God that I have lived to see the time,
> When the great truth begins at last to find
> An utterance from the deep heart of mankind,
> Earnest and clear, that all revenge is crime;
> That man is holier than a creed; that all
> Restraint upon him must consult his good;
> Hope's sunshine linger on his prison-wall,
> And Love look in upon his solitude."

F. W. H.

W. E. Channing.

Art. V.—EDWARDS AND THE REVIVALISTS.

A CHAPTER OF NEW ENGLAND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

In the works of religious writers at the beginning of the last century, we find lamentations over the spirit of lukewarmness which had infected the churches. It seems to have been acknowledged that the enthusiasm of the early Reformers had passed by, and that the earnest devoutness, self-sacrifice, delight in religious exercises, sanctity, stern conscientiousness, of their Protestant ancestors had subsided into staleness of thought and stagnancy of feeling. Such ebbs and flows, indeed, can be traced throughout the history of the Christian Church, and may be explained by principles which regulate alike the collective and the individual life of man. The law of vibration is universally operative in the moral as in the natural world; and pulsation is felt throughout all bodies, material and social, in which life circulates. But it may be asked in passing, whether the Protestant movement, in its very aim to make religion wholly spiritual, did not involve the certainty that such oscillations as we have alluded to should be at once more frequent and more perceptible than they had been under the Catholic system.

In their doctrine of "justification by faith," the Reformers broke the thraldom of a hierarchy which claimed to be the only medium of Divine communication; but they thereby threw every individual back upon his own experience, — an experience, in most souls, of moral weakness. The exclusive control of the sacraments was swept away, and the tyranny inseparable from such assumed prerogatives; but the sinner was still enslaved to inward lust and to outward custom. Rituals made room only for stern realities; the scourge was dropped, but the struggle with sense and self went on; penance was abandoned, but remorse remained; and for the comforts of the confessional were left the lonely agonies of an awakened conscience. Though nominally retaining the theory of a church, yet, by the mode in which the fact of personal responsibility was exaggerated, the Protestant was forced to feel that no human brother could help to bear the burden of his guilt to the foot of the cross. For himself, within himself, by himself, he must seek direct access through Christ to God. No absolution, no benediction, from a father

on earth would avail to encourage and strengthen. Only by the spirit of adoption breathed in from the Father in Heaven could he find peace. No bright company of saints seemed to him to shed light upon the path of temptation, where amidst pitfalls he must find his gloomy way. He stood alone. Doubtless the already strong in conscience grew stronger by this self-dependence, and learned to know the mystery of the life-giving power of prayer; but the weak in will, who most needed aid, were thus made conscious of spiritual destitution, as those never can be who feel that they are encompassed by holy ministrations, through which the church triumphant above and the church militant around pledge and proffer them aid.

In rejecting, too, the influences by which beauty through the senses refines the heart, and the power of symbols to lift man to lofty heights of contemplative thought, the Protestant, though in part freed from temptations to become a formalist or a mystic, was left more subject than the Catholic to the danger of fanaticism intermitting with deadness. The universal consecration of life is the ideal of the Christian Church throughout its various communities of believers; but in rejecting the rites by which Catholicism typified devotedness to good, Protestantism demanded of its members an almost unattainable spirituality as the only means of counterbalancing the pressure of worldliness. Only by sanctifying all relations of existence, of industry and property, of politics and social intercourse, of science and art, and making every man in his appropriate sphere and function a minister of divine life to his fellows, and so binding the members of society together in a communion of active love, for ever renewed from on high and embodied in daily deeds, can the loss be supplied of the system of sacraments so wonderfully perfected in the Middle Ages. In confirmation of this view, the history of each Protestant denomination, and of Protestantism as a whole, will be found to consist of a series of alternations from enthusiasm to apathy.

Such a season of apathy had arrived in New England at the beginning of the last century. And, apart from the general tendency of Protestantism and the operation of the law already indicated, by which successive ages become eras of inspiration or of indifference, it is easy to recognize some at least of the peculiar influences which caused that period to be a spiritually passive one. The corruption of manners,

which from Charles the Second's reign downwards had been working through English society, though less gross in particular manifestations than at some earlier times, was more generally diffused. We have only to read the pages of Addison and Steele, of Johnson and Goldsmith, to be satisfied that there was an almost universal prevalence of frivolous and profligate habits; and it is difficult to conceive how any high principle and pure feeling survived. The tone of even these writers, earnestly endeavouring as they were to apply their knife and cautery to the foul corruptions of the social body, is pervaded by a sentimentalism which proves that the moral malady had nearly reached the heart of the age. In the Colonies, to be sure, the healthy Puritan blood yet circulated, and the whole temper of life was at once more manly and simple, more earnest and upright. Still, the example of the mother country was to a degree contagious; her fashions and literature made themselves felt in manners and thought; and proof enough remains, that the children of the Pilgrims had sadly deteriorated from the style of character and life inculcated by their stern forefathers. The growing liberality, and the increasing interest in philosophy, also, which characterized the reigns of William the Third and the first two Georges,* by diverting men's minds from wonted channels of opinion, and threatening to undermine by new currents the long-tilled acres of old creeds, disturbed conscience, distracted feeling, and led insensibly to a neglect of traditionary usages of piety; and, finally, the commercial and industrial activity of the times absorbed in practical affairs the energies which, in earlier eras of theological and civil convulsions, had been concentrated upon the problems of man's spiritual existence. As the result of these combined influences, it was painfully felt by the devout, even in the heart of New England, that palsy was crippling the churches. Amidst these conditions the outbreak of enthusiasm, known at the time as the "Great Awakening," appeared.

The first traces of this movement are to be found in a small body of believers, in the neighbourhood of New Haven, Connecticut, who about 1730 became filled, as they thought,

* Hist. of Dissenters, Bogue and Bennett, 2d ed., Vol. I., pp. 213 – 244; Vol. II., pp. 77 – 134. Quincy's Hist. of Harvard College, Vol. I., pp. 196, 315.

with a new religious life.* Their own modes of expression, no less than the descriptions given by opponents, would lead one to class them with the Familists and Seekers, with Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers, and the various bodies of enthusiasts who appeared in the times of the Commonwealth, and whose prototypes may be found in earlier ages of the Church. They all might be properly grouped, perhaps, under the one name of "Conscious Communicants in the Spirit." Their central doctrine was, that, by an immediate and sensible influence of the Holy Ghost, the soul underwent a total change from death to life, and the sinner was thereby suddenly lifted from the gloom of hell into the prospective glory of heaven. Not only was the converted person new-born, but this process was one which could be distinctly traced from the quickening of the germ to the travail throe, — if, indeed, this suggestion of a progressive development is not inconsistent with the instantaneous regeneration which the "New Lights" announced as the only means of escaping eternal death. Conscious new-birth was the chief object of their contemplation, the continual burden of their preaching, the experience longed and waited for, the theme of grateful exultation in their prayers. They aspired after and believed that they attained to entire oneness of will with God. They reached an undoubting assurance of salvation. The renewed man became at once, by communion with the Holy Spirit, himself holy. He put off the filthy rags of his own righteousness, and was clothed upon with the righteousness of Christ. Ordinances had become useless, for he had attained to the living realities which they symbolized. He passed from legal bondage into Gospel freedom. No longer an outcast, everlasting life was open to him as his home. He was never alone, but the Father abode with him as a friend. He could not be deceived in men, but tried all hearts by an unfailing test. Temptation had lost its hold upon his heart. He needed the Bible no more, for the Spirit enlightened him fully. He had no perplexities, for the path of duty was luminous with splendors of eternal day. All human learning was henceforth despicable. He could not err, for the face of truth was unveiled. He was justified, and needed no outward sign of sanctification. He was re-

* Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts, pp. 202–215. Edwards's Works, Vol. III., p. 20.

formed in the Divine image, and could never again sin. He was *perfect.*

Closely connected in time with the movement thus briefly described, and having a general affinity with it, though carefully to be discriminated in many important respects, was the series of revivals of which Jonathan Edwards was the central medium. Full justice has been done to the metaphysical skill of this remarkable man, and perhaps more than due admiration allotted to his intellectual power, — for, as a writer, he was too acute in analysis, too limited in his range of observation, and too little comprehensive in synthesis, to be fairly considered a well-proportioned philosopher ; — but justice has certainly not been done to his religious character. Cold and phlegmatic in physical temperament, trained up to a Puritanical primness, scrupulously precise from mistaken notions of ministerial dignity, an absorbed student, inapt for social pleasures, solitary in his ways,* Jonathan Edwards was still possessed of a delicate sensibility, a fine appreciation of moral beauty, a faculty of concentrated contemplation, a deep enthusiasm, which in Catholic days would have made him a saint, and in a more liberal age might have expanded into poetry. One cannot read his works without feeling how much more of life and energy was in him than he was aware of, or could, under the conditions in which he was placed, embody in deeds. His dryness, hardness, severity, were accidental incrustations. The inward temper of the man was high and large. The very intensity of his speculative faculty, though exerted in but few directions, gives clear proof of his spiritual earnestness. Every line of that hair-splitting, chaff-chopping essay on the Freedom of the Will is instinct with the moral consciousness of the author, and a singular form of imagination animates his most abstract statements. His whole existence, indeed, was a conscious longing and waiting for salvation ; and the strength of his faith in Election and Effectual Calling sprang from his own profound experience of the reality of sin, and still more of the reality of redemption.

The germ of Edwards's writings and doings is to be found in his favorite doctrine of the Sovereignty of God : —

"I remember the time very well," he says, "when I seemed to be convinced and fully satisfied as to this sovereignty of God,

* Edwards's Works, Vol. I., pp. 51–86.

and his justice in eternally disposing of men according to his sovereign pleasure." "The first instance that I remember of that sort of inward, sweet delight in God and divine things that I have lived much in since was on reading these words: — 'Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever.' As I read, there came into my soul, and was, as it were, diffused through it, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being. . . . . I thought with myself, how excellent a Being that was, and how happy I should be, if I might enjoy that God, and be rapt up to him in heaven, and be swallowed up in him for ever. I kept saying, and, as it were, singing, over these words of Scripture, and went to pray to God that I might enjoy him." "The sense I had of divine things would often of a sudden kindle up a sweet burning in my heart, an ardor of soul that I know not how to express." "And as I was walking and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came into my mind a sweet sense of the glorious *majesty* and *grace* of God. I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together; it was a sweet, and gentle, and holy majesty, and also a majestic meekness; an awful sweetness; a high, and great, and holy gentleness." "From that time to this, I scarce have found the rising of any objection in my mind against the doctrine of God's sovereignty in the most absolute sense, and his showing mercy to whom he will show mercy, and hardening whom he will. God's absolute sovereignty and justice, with respect to salvation and damnation, is what my mind seems to rest assured of as much as of any thing that I see with my eyes; at least, it is so at times. I have often had, not only a conviction, but a delightful conviction of it. The doctrine has often appeared exceedingly pleasant, bright, and sweet. Absolute sovereignty is what I love to ascribe to God." *

That significant sentence, "*at least, it is so at times*," will not be unappreciated by those who find it impossible to reconcile the thought of the eternal death of myriads of souls in hell with the eternal life-giving power of the Heavenly Father, and who feel assured that the unending woe of creatures must jar in discord with the Creator's harmonious bliss. But while protesting against the dogma of everlasting damnation as a libel upon Supreme Goodness, let us not heap indiscriminate reproach upon Edwards and those who think with him. His monstrous error grew out of reverence, and it was his faith in the holiness of the Almighty which led him into even his most appalling statements. A little more hope

* Life of Edwards, Works, Vol. I., pp. 33 – 35.

or a little less fear would have completely remoulded his theology, and made him a teacher of universal good-will. By a slight change of the axis of rotation in his spirit, the ecliptic and equator would have become coincident, and his life would have rolled on serene and perennially verdant. Still it must be cordially granted, that in his essays on "God's End in Creation," * and on "The Nature of True Virtue," † this good man has recorded some of the most profound and beautiful statements ever made; and it is not extravagant to add, that there are sentences in those papers which are as highly ideal, as concentrated in thought, as rich in suggestion, as any which Cudworth left in his sublime "Treatise on Immutable Morality."

And yet with deference let it be questioned whether Edwards did touch the centre. He all but clearly perceived that God is God because he is Infinite Love, and so the One All-good, — that the being, manifestation, relations of the Deity are but different modes of good-will, — that his essential Divinity lives, moves, and has existence in his infinite disinterestedness, — that his eternal sovereignty is for ever anew justified, for ever anew established, in his perfectly pure self-sacrifice. But he stopped just short of that truth of truths. "The disposition to communicate himself, or to diffuse his own Fulness, was what moved God to create the world," ‡ he says; but he does not say that this fulness, wherein will, wisdom, bliss, are blended in one ineffable beauty, is Love. A "respect to himself, an infinite propensity to, and delight in, his own glory," is still in Edwards's conception the Divine end; and this indistinctness of view in relation to the essential benignity of God makes his whole scheme of thought inconsequential and contradictory, and gives a limited sense to the grand words "goodness" and "holiness," as used by him. If we define the holiness of God as being a "love of himself," § and not a love of absolute love, although we may add that he is "being in general or universal being," ‖ we shall still inevitably attribute to him a selfish sovereignty.

The glory of God being his "one last great end in creation," ¶ it follows, according to Edwards, that the "Sover-

* Edwards's Works, Vol. VI, pp. 9–124.
† Ibid., Vol. II., pp. 395–471.
‡ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 33.
§ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 53.
‖ Ibid., Vol. VI., pp. 53, 59.
¶ Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 119, and Vol. V., p. 395.

eign Disposer has established all events by previous necessity, and orders his own conduct and its connected consequences" for the fulfilment of this end. Evil in all its forms and degrees, therefore, is predetermined, in order that "all parts of his glory should shine forth, — that every beauty should be proportionably effulgent, — that God's awful majesty, his authority and dreadful greatness, justice, holiness, should be manifested." * "Unless sin and punishment had been decreed, ... there could be no manifestation of God's holiness in hatred of sin, or in showing preference in his providence of godliness." This leads us into the heart of Edwards's system. But let not one unacquainted with his writings at once burst forth in indignant reproof of this accusation against God, that he is "the author of sin." Let him first consider that no philosophy ever has, or ever will, fully explain the existence of evil; that every profound thinker of ancient and modern times has found himself obliged to admit that the very conception of Good involves its opposite of Evil, and that, in fact, the beauty of the former is seen to be brighter by contrast with the dark deformity of the latter. And next let him be sure that he understands Edwards's meaning. His real thought is thus expressed: — "The goodness of God gives the being as well as the happiness of the creature. And the glorifying of God's mercy, as it presupposes the subject to be miserable, and the glorifying of his grace, as it supposes the subject to be sinful, are not to be conceived of as ultimate ends, but only as certain ways and means for glorifying the exceeding abundance and overflowing fulness of God's goodness." † Edwards had a sublime conception before his mind of an harmonious order unfolding for ever and ever, by which the communion of saints are to be raised through constant ascension in glory to a perfect unity with God; and any one, who will read the treatise on "Decrees and Election" ‡ side by side with the teachings of his great master, § will confess that he has presented the dogma of predestination in a form far less dishonorable to God, less in conflict with our intuitions of right, and less shocking to our best instincts, than that in which Calvin

* Edwards's Works, Vol. V., pp. 357 – 360.
† Ibid., Vol. V., p. 404.
‡ Ibid., Vol. V., pp. 351 – 412.
§ Calvin's Institutes; compare B. I., c. xv., § 8, B. II., c. ii., § 3, B. III., c. xxi. – xxiii.

has stated it. He, at least, does not mock men with an empty shadow of freedom, and haunt them with a mere phantom of responsibility.

A passing notice of Edwards's doctrines upon "God's sovereignty" and "decrees" has been given, because we are thus prepared to understand his view of *holiness*, and without a clear notion of this we cannot judge aright of the part which he and his followers took in revivals. Throughout creation and the spiritual world he saw an ever-progressive manifestation of the Divine holiness. "Holiness," he says, "is the beauty of the Godhead, the divinity of the Divinity, the good of the infinite Fountain of good, without which God himself would be an infinite evil, without which there had better have been no being." * So in man "the first objective ground of all holy affections is the transcendent amiableness, the infinite loveliness, of the Divine Nature." † "The very life and soul of all true religion is in the affections." On this subject of the affections Edwards is truly eloquent and instructive, and few writers of any age have come nearer to laying open the most profound and beautiful mystery of man's springs of action. According to his view, "all acts of the affections of the soul are in some sense acts of the will, and all acts of the will are acts of the affections." ‡ He denied that there was a "self-determining power" in man, because he referred all emotion up to God as its author. Nothing of the dry, hard necessitarianism of Hobbes, and the large school of naturalists, appears in Edwards. He never saw in the universe a vast mechanism, through ages and ages grinding on in cold passivity, and turning out events and characters to pattern; but nature and humanity seemed to him warmly alive with the interflowing and overflowing energy of the Being of beings. Everywhere he beheld a magnificent revelation of God's goodness; and thought that a "love of divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency is the spring of all holy affection."

Hence the very principle of religion is with him a disinterested love for goodness in itself; any thought of the influence which religious obedience may have upon one's own lot must be wholly secondary; the saint must lose a regard to his own interests in joyful adoration of the infinite moral glory of God.

---

* Edwards's Works, Vol. IV., p. 211. † Ibid., Vol. V., pp. 172, 173.
‡ Ibid., Vol. III., p. 94.

His descriptions of holiness are often beautiful, as well as just.

"Holiness," he in one place says, "appeared to me to be of a sweet, pleasant, charming, serene, calm nature, which brought an inexpressible purity, brightness, peacefulness, and ravishment to the soul. The soul of a true Christian appeared like such a little white flower as we see in the spring of the year; low and humble on the ground, opening its bosom to receive the pleasant beams of the sun's glory, rejoicing in calm rapture, diffusing around a sweet fragrancy, standing peacefully and lovingly in the midst of other flowers round about, all in like manner opening their bosoms to drink in the light. There was no part of creature holiness that I had so great a sense of the loveliness of, as humility, brokenness of heart, and poverty of spirit; and there was nothing that I so earnestly longed for. My heart panted to lie low before God, as in the dust; that I might be nothing, and that God might be ALL."*

Such was Edwards's conception of holiness, and certainly it was a high one, wanting only a heartier love of Divine love, a clearer perception of its unspeakably joyous and joy-giving nature, a more genial sense of the infinite variety and richness of the Deity's modes of action, and more trustful freedom, to make it true to our best desires. The cloud of old Puritan fear still veiled his firmament, but the light and warmth of the sun penetrated somewhat the gloom.

But how could man now attain to heavenly life? The original health and vigor of his affections were destroyed. Sin now enveloped him, sealed up the avenues of his heart, prevented his access to God, shut out the Spirit. "My experience taught me the bottomless depths of secret corruption and deceit which there were in my heart," says Edwards. From his own soul, as from observation, he thought he had learned that man's moral impotence was complete, his depravity total. Man individually and collectively was, in his view, corrupt to the core in original sin. In sinning, Adam, and all his posterity, as sinning in him, had become enslaved to their *inferior* or merely *natural* principles, which were intended to be subordinate, and had lost the superior or supernatural principles, which were designed to maintain absolute dominion in their hearts, by which alone they were

* Edwards's Works, Vol. I., p. 38.

made in the Divine image and might hold communion with the Holy One.* Hence, the "excellent order, peace, and beautiful harmony, the proper and perfect state" of man universal, had fallen into confused ruin.

"That the posterity of Adam should be born *without* holiness, and so *with* a depraved nature, comes to pass as much by the *established course of nature* as the continuance of a corrupt disposition in a particular person after he once has it." † "So that, on the whole, all mankind have an infallibly effectual propensity to that moral evil which infinitely outweighs the value of all the good that can be in them, ... and universally run themselves into that which is in effect their own utter, eternal perdition, as being finally accursed of God, and the subjects of his remediless wrath." ‡

Statements more revolting to common sense, to conscience, to the highest spiritual consciousness alike of heathen sages and Christian saints, can certainly never be made, than this truly pious man has allowed himself to perpetrate upon this subject. In his self-contradictory assertions in regard to the *infinite* sins of *finite* creatures he has out-Lutherized Luther and out-Calvinized Calvin, if, indeed, that is possible; and he seems never to have had even a transient misgiving, that, in representing God as the eternally angry punisher of natural and inevitable evil, he did actually attribute to him a malignant injustice too bad to conceive of even in Satan. But evidently his exaggerations grew out of his own poignant sense of demerit, and a profound pity for his fellow-criminals; from no icy peak of philosophical indifference did he look down upon the masses of mankind weltering and swallowed up in the lava-floods of guilt. He was full of tender compassion, not scorn.

But what concerns us now particularly to notice in this doctrine is the view which he has repeated after the Reformers, that evil necessarily results in all men, when supernatural influence is withheld. Here, indeed, is the pith and marrow of the Orthodox creed upon the subject of original sin and regeneration. The Catholic Church described far more justly the measure of human depravity and the means of moral renewal. § But, making allowance for the half-statements which

* Edwards's Works, Vol. VI., pp. 428, 429.
† Ibid., Vol. VI., p. 432.
‡ Ibid., Vol. VI., pp. 157, 137.
§ Moehler's Symbolism, B. I., c ii., § 5, pp. 137–142; c. iii., § 11, p. 178.

so fatally intermingle in our Babel speech, must it not be granted that sound philosophy as well as universal experience confirms, in the main, this view? It is the recognition of this "open secret" of our spiritual existence that has led men into the exaggerations to which the best have been most prone. For is not the doctrine of a total withdrawal of supernatural aid from man, and so of his total depravity, the most monstrous exaggeration? Does it not involve a gross intellectual absurdity, as well as imply impious doubts and denials of Infinite Goodness? Must not the central vitality of every impulse, even the most debased, be conceived of as for ever recreated by God? Is not the Spirit within the spirit of even the most abandoned for ever seeking to restore a more than original peace, purity, and power?

Looking upon man as an outcast, Edwards saw advancing through all history a glorious "work of redemption," * of which Christ is the centre, a work whereby the Divine character is displaying itself in its majesty and loveliness, and through whose instrumentalities communion between God and the race of Adam is once more opened. His longing was to live for the advancement of this kingdom of heaven. He believed that the religious excitement which he saw appearing in his own society and elsewhere in the years 1734 – 1741 was quickened by influences showered from on high, and gave himself up, with all his energies, to till, and weed, and gather in the spiritual harvest. It is true wisdom, before passing judgment upon men or movements, to place ourselves within their sphere by sympathy. And it is well, therefore, to take Edwards's own testimony as to this revival, in which he was earnestly engaged. So let us condense from his description a few of its most characteristic features.

"Great numbers," he says, "have been brought, under this influence, to a deep sense of their own sinfulness, vileness, heinous disregard of God and contempt of the Saviour, — of their hardness of heart, proneness to evil, exceeding pollution, utter misery and worthlessness, exceeding helplessness, and extreme need of Divine pity and help. Thence they have passed to a new and great conviction of the truth of the Gospel, and to a firm persuasion that Christ Jesus is the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world. They have had a most affecting sense of the excellency and sufficiency of this Saviour, — of the wonders of

* Edwards's Works, Vol. II., pp. 9 – 392.

Christ's dying love and the sincerity of his invitations, and a consequent affiance to him, and perfect rest and holy rejoicing in him, — a lively view of the infinite amiableness of Christ's person, and of his transcendent beauty, until the heart was swallowed up in a glow of Christ's love coming down from Christ's heart in heaven, all the soul flowing out in love to him again, so that there seemed to be a constant flowing and reflowing from heart to heart, and all was solace, peace, and bliss unspeakable. Then the spirit dwelt on high, had admiring and exalting apprehensions of the glory of the Divine perfections, — of God's majesty, holiness, unerring wisdom, awful justice; felt a sweet rejoicing that he is all-sufficient and unchangeably happy, an exulting sense that he rules over all and does his will with uncontrollable sovereignty, a most earnest desire for the honor of his name, a sensible, clear, and constant preference of the Divine glory to all one's own interests, both worldly and spiritual, even to a willingness to live and die in darkness and horror, if only thereby he might be glorified. And there has been a great dependence upon the Holy Spirit, a wonderful access to God by prayer, frequent, plain answers to prayer, earnest longings after more holiness and conformity to God, with a deep sense of the need of God's help, an extraordinary self-dedication and resignation of all to God, with high exercises of love to him and rest and joy in him. Together with these states of feeling have there been thoughts of heaven as a world of love, where love shall be the saints' eternal food, where all shall dwell in the light of love and swim in an ocean of love, and where the very air and breath will be nothing but love; and there has been a most dear love for all God's people on earth, and a universal benevolence for mankind, with a longing to embrace the whole world in the arms of pity and mercy. These things have been accompanied with an exceeding concern and zeal for common duties, and a noted eminence in their performance, and an inoffensiveness of life and conversation, and a great meekness, gentleness, and benevolence of spirit and behaviour." *

Such, in brief, is the sketch which Edwards has given of the effects produced upon the subjects of this revival, and there is no reason to question its general fidelity. That there were great evils attending these scenes of intense excitement he was the last to deny, — though his theory of accounting for them, by the supposition that the Devil is more than usually active in sowing thistles and darnel at seasons when he sees the angels scattering wheat-seed, might be thought a rather fanciful renewal of the old Persian and Manichæan no-

* Edwards's Works, Vol. III., pp. 123–140.

tions. But whatever his theory, it must be confessed, that, in fact, Edwards analyzed and exposed the self-delusions incident to enthusiasm with a master hand. And no clinical lecturer in the wards of a hospital could surpass him in the scientific accuracy with which he classified, examined, and gave the treatment of every possible form of morbid spirituality. By his pen, by preaching, and by personal exertions, he did his utmost to save what he devoutly considered a most holy work from the contamination of pride, self-will, and sensuality. But though laboring sincerely and wisely, he labored in vain. Apart from the erroneous views of God and man inculcated, there was a practical defect in the whole movement, in the fact, that, in seeking to elevate man's highest powers, it did injustice to the variety of his functions and relations as a *social* being upon *earth*. It did not sufficiently respect the symmetry of man's nature, nor the complexity of his destiny and duties. He who aims at being more than human, while he is human, is in great danger of becoming less.

The extravagances which intermingled in these revivals would, however, have been much less frequent and intense, had others comprehended more clearly and sympathized more heartily with the disinterested view of religion taught by Edwards in his best moods. But even he too often made low appeals to his hearers' personal fears, aroused their consciences through horrors spread out in awful extent and detail before their imaginations, and stimulated them to raptures of really selfish joy. In these respects, however, he was far less in fault than Whitefield, and the itinerants who followed in his train, to whose influence must be fairly traced a large proportion of the excesses which characterized that period, and to a brief notice of whose career in New England we must now pass.

It was in 1740 that Whitefield paid his first visit to Massachusetts. He was then in the full flush of early success, fresh, elated, vigorous, earnestly convinced of his Divine commission, overflowing with sympathy, conscious of his marvellous power as a speaker, fond of intense action, and not a little maddened with the fever of proselytism. His progress was a triumph. Reputation ran before him like a herald, and crowds of all denominations, old and young, learned and simple, rich and poor, some from curiosity, some from spiritual thirst, some from the contagion of popular feel-

ing, thronged to the houses of worship to hear the orator of whose wonderful influence such reports were spread. The story of his life is too well known to need repeating. Here, as in England, the few and the many confessed his magic charm. They could not resist his imposing air and magnetic energy, — his flexible and melodious voice, for ever changing in its modulations with every theme and occasion, — his dramatic skill and splendid rhetoric, — his direct, homely, quaint illustrations, — his pathetic appeals to natural feeling, and brilliant or terrible pictures for the imagination, — his few, plain doctrines, so intelligible that the most dull could comprehend his whole theology at first hearing, — his uncompromising threats of damnation, and promises of glory, — his tender, warm, gushing sensibility, — his profound devotedness, earnest piety, awful sense of spiritual realities, — and finally, and above all, his vivid conception of the mighty agency of God through Christ and the Spirit as mysteriously near and instantly operative.* Whole communities gravitated towards him as he swept along, and even the most cultivated and self-governed found their habitual equilibrium disturbed by an attraction which they could not at the time describe, nor well account for afterwards.

Whitefield's movements in New England, regarded as a means of introducing Methodism, do not demand any special attention from us here; but it is quite important to observe the impression which he produced upon the Orthodox Congregational body. For it is owing, in no slight measure, to his influence, and to the direction then given to piety, that a selfish pursuit of salvation was encouraged, instead of the love of absolute goodness and the utter surrender of private interests to universal well-being, in which the higher views of Edwards, when followed out to their just consequences, would have terminated.† Undoubtedly the whole tone of Protestant theology, from Luther and Calvin downwards, through even the best writers, had tended to produce an extreme individualism, to separate in thought the destiny of single men from the destiny of the race, and to stimulate each believer to an intense consciousness of personal guilt, and an

* Stephens's Miscellanies, Art. Life of Whitefield. Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts, p. 36, et passim. Quincy's Hist. of Harvard University, Vol. II., pp. 40–53.

† Edwards's Works, Vol. III., p. 499; Vol. IV., pp. 172, 183. Hopkins's Life, pp. 118, 137.

equally intense longing for personal redemption. The doctrine of Original Sin, of a fatal moral malady pervading the whole of humanity, was but a partial glimpse of the indissoluble vital bond by which mankind are united in good and evil, in suffering and glory, in depravity and restoration, and which Catholicism had aimed at least to represent. Before the minds of the Reformers had dimly hovered, indeed, the conception of a universal Christ, of a divine power of grace brooding over and embosoming the ages, by communion with which all regenerate souls became fellow-heirs to the promises and privileges of the invisible church. But the Quakers were the only sect that felt the life-giving warmth of this sublime reality; and even they soon fell into a theory of spiritual isolation, as blank and desolate as that of the Lutherans and Calvinists. For the most part, Puritan piety took the form of a lonely pilgrimage over deserts of sin to the tomb of the Redeemer, where, single-handed, each mortal was to fight his way through the infidel host.

The direct influence of Whitefield's doctrine of conversion was to give new strength to this already predominant tendency. He tore from the sinner every rag of concealment, and drove him, in all the consciousness of his naked deformity, into the piercing light of God's presence; and when the poor wretch, horror-struck by the contrast of his pollution with Divine purity and crushed by a sense of his own guilt, was ready to plunge for escape into eternal darkness, then he showed the benignant Saviour bending from a golden cloud towards him, with white robes and wreaths of rejoicing, with crown and palm-branch for him, as if he were the beloved son, long lost and found. The personal experience of each convert was made the central point of interest, and attention was absorbed in his own horror, his own joy. Yet true, in spite of himself, to the facts of man's collective life, Whitefield sought to bring about conversion by the contagious sympathy of immense multitudes tossed together as the ocean-waters are by the impulse of an earthquake-shock. And so, by contact of extremes, individualism and unity of life met together in the Methodist revivals. Still, though groans of agony and shouts of praise went up in concert from the great bodies of the anxious and the assured whom he swayed by his preaching, repentance and rejoicing alike took a selfish character. The effects of such urgent appeals to self-love were apparently stronger than could have been

caused by any presentation, however bright, of God's perfections and of the blessed life of devotedness; yet, on the other hand, the emotions thus produced were probably spasmodic and transient in even the majority of minds. Such moral galvanism is better fitted to agitate a lifeless body than to pour new tides of health through a debilitated frame.

Whatever degree of influence we may attribute to the agency of Whitefield, it is the fact, that, since that period, through the whole revival movement, the same bad forms of enthusiastic excitement have been perpetuated. Immediately after him came the first of the prolific brood of itinerants, among the most noted of whom were Davenport, Tennent, Wheelock, Allen, Barber, Bliss, of whose uncouth deeds and inconsiderate words the good Dr. Chauncy has kept choice specimens, much as a naturalist preserves monsters.* With them a new era in revivals opened. Doubtless the originating impulse of the excitement produced by means of these men was good. The elemental fire of this, as of all great religious excitements, radiated from the sun. But the heat which should have been genially diffused was concentrated in the lens of morbid feeling, and consumed what it should have quickened. Spread rapidly by zealous preachers, this revival kindled, as it ran, a destructive conflagration, and in all communities which it reached produced jealousies, strifes, and divisions. Venerable ministers became objects of contempt; neighbourhoods passed from friendly exchange of good offices into hostile debates, and fulminated anathemas upon each other's bigotry and carnal stupidity; home circles were broken up, the husband and wife reviling each other as dead in trespasses or mad in zeal, the young forgetting all reverence, and, while babes in years, as well as in grace, now summoning their guardians with terrible threats to repentance, and now condescendingly encouraging them to follow their small foot-prints up the path to peace; humility, decency, good sense, prudence, were alike trampled down in the rush of proselytism, and in the drunkenness of zeal once-peaceful congregations were transformed into mobs of half-crazed conversionists. The language of writers of that time gives one an impression of scenes of spiritual turbulence as strangely ridiculous in their extravagance as they were mournful for their perversion of man's highest powers. The gov-

* Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts, pp. 220 – 229, et passim.

ernor of Connecticut, in his proclamation for a day of public fasting, in 1743, speaks of the "prevailing spirit of error, disorder, unpeaceableness, pride, bitterness, uncharitableness, censoriousness, disobedience, calumniating and reviling of authority, divisions, separations, contentions in churches," and desires that prayers may be offered to God "that he would direct the ministers of the Gospel, heal their divisions, and restore unity and harmony in their sentiments and practices." And the Massachusetts Convention of Pastors, in the spring of the same year, "taking into consideration the errors in doctrine and disorders in practice that have obtained of late in various parts of the land," advise their brethren to guard against the "intrusions of itinerants and exhorters" who have produced "confusions" and "disorderly tumults" in the churches.*

Men should be judged by the standard of their own times; and one must hope that these zealous brethren served at least the end of a prairie-fire, of burning up dry grass and fertilizing the ground with ashes for a fresher growth. Allusion has been made to their excesses only because therein were manifested, in an ultimate form, the tendencies which are universally latent in the revival system, and which always have displayed and will display themselves to some degree in periods of excitement. The evils referred to — such as terrible fears producing groans, shrieks, tossings, writhings, — sudden outbreaks of joy, ecstasy, rapture, — mysterious intimations, warnings, suggestions, voices, leadings, impulses, — visions and trances, — presumption and pride, — censorious judging, intermeddling, arrogant dictation — will abound in seasons of conversion just in the degree in which the religious life is presented as a private provision whereby to escape from hell, rather than as a boundless welcome to the freedom of the city of God.

But let not disgust excited by the unmannerly and unmanly displays of enthusiasts lead us to be false to the sublime reality which is the life of every great religious movement. The mystics of no age have lived in vain. Thanks to the Quakers and the Perfectionists, to the Methodists and the Revivalists, to Edwards and Whitefield, and the large company of like earnestly devout men, that they have borne their testimony, even though amidst error and weakness, to the

* Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts, pp. 294 - 301.

fact of Divine inspiration, and to the awful and glorious experience of the spiritual life. Better any form of enthusiasm than apathetic naturalism. And therefore, in closing this historical sketch, let us, for a moment, try to justify the fundamental principle of the movement which has been thus frankly criticized.

Did not the Orthodox body, then, partially discern a truth in their doctrine of Regeneration or the New Birth? Dim views of God's benignity they may have held, and with them most exaggerated notions of man's depravity; and even in relation to spiritual influence, may have so misstated the fact of Divine agency as to deny the correlative fact of human agency. Still, it was not a delusion of imagination, but a grand reality, to which they bore witness in their doctrines of grace. The only consistent conception of a free finite will is of a spiritual force for ever anew created by the Infinite Will. The only liberty possible is the liberty of love. God is love, one and universal. And as the good which Infinite Love seeks is one with the good of all finite existences, He and He alone, in desire, method, action, is perfectly free. A created spirit can be free, then, only in the degree in which it lives in communion with God, receives life from the infinite centre, distributes life to the ever-widening circumference, and so mingles its existence with the radiance of joy which in endless waves flows forth from the Being of beings. A spirit has free-will in proportion as it consciously blends its energies of good with the universe, — with all spirits, — with the Infinite One. In the impersonality of such disinterestedness is found the fullest individual force, the richest individual experience, the most intense consciousness of individual character. It is only by a paradox that we can describe the awful mystery of our spiritual nature; and so it may be said, that a spirit lives just in proportion as its life is from God, in God, to God. Whence it follows, from strictest logic, as well as from profoundest consciousness, that the intelligent creature who lives from itself, in itself, to itself, does, so far as in its power, commit spiritual suicide. This living death is sin. It is slavery to nature, to fellow-spirits, to self. And the spirit thus enslaved is lower than a brute; it is, according to its degree and kind, a devil. For the human being which is not in communion with the super-human does not become thereby merely natural; it becomes unnatural, and is in so far fiendish as it is selfish.

If, forgetting the technicalities of sectarian theology, and in the spirit of a catholic wisdom, we read the biographies of mystics and saints, we shall see that these pious souls all consciously reach a crisis through which, sooner or later, suddenly or gradually, every human being is led by God, and must willingly pass in attaining to immortality. A time would come, even to the sinlessly pure, as they entered from moral infancy to moral maturity, when the experience of *rational liberty* would be felt, never again through eternity to be forgotten; such a time *must* come to the sinful and impure, as they recover from moral sickness to moral health. Then is the wonderful problem to be solved, of establishing just relations between finite existence and the Infinite Being; then are conflicting individual rights confronted before the judgment-seat of absolute law; then must will and wisdom be married, and from their union spring beautiful charity; then is inward unity enthroned in sovereignty over all affections and faculties; then, above all, does conscience, the central authority in the spirit, acknowledge its loyal duty to the King of kings, whose purposes are impersonal, whose thought is order, whose desire is the well-being of every creature. Men learn then the threefold fact of existence: their near connection with nature, yet power of moulding and governing it, — their living union with their fellow-men, yet duty of reacting upon them, — their dependence upon God for reason and will, and yet their need of aspiring towards him, working together with him, as the very condition of receiving his aid. Life, in all its complexity and richness, its stern facts, its solemn and glad realities, its everlasting issues, its boundless relations, opens above, below, in wonders which no thought can fathom. Is it surprising that men sink under the weight of revelations given in these high hours of self-knowledge, and are blinded by too near vision of the glory of God?

Religious enthusiasts, in their extravagances, have still testified to facts. In every person is the great warfare — portrayed in all history, biography, and literature — once again waged between Providence, Free-will, Fate; in every person must the ministry of reconciliation be repeated, the atonement made. Man's liberty consists in obedience to the Divine command, as given afresh each day and hour in duty; his wisdom, in conformity to the laws of heavenly order, wherever and however revealed; his joy, in disinterested communion and coöperation with the Creator and fellow-

creatures. His highest success is in entire self-surrender. Piety is an opening of our inmost spirits for the living God to dwell in us by love; morality is a diffusion of the harmony, truth, beauty, of which willingness makes us the medium; eternal life is this very influx and efflux of goodness, by which the growing spirit is re-formed for ever and ever, in the image of the Father. And in this process of incessant renewal, why should we hesitate to believe that mighty powers from the past, from holy spirits in heaven, from humanity, from all humble and heroic souls, work with us, if we are faithful? This sublime experience has been perennial in all lands, all ages, — in China, India, Persia, Greece, — most manifestly throughout Christendom, — and grows ever fuller and richer with the development of the human race; but the language in which it may find expression will vary with the associations of each nation and era, and with the character and condition of individuals. Every mortal must be "born again" of the spirit; and the sign of this regeneration is always and everywhere a consecration to universal good.

W. H. C.

Art. VI. — GERMANY, RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL.*

"It will be a long time," says a French writer, "before Germany of the Present will begin to be Germany of the

---

* 1. *The German Reformation of the Nineteenth Century.* By the German Correspondent of "The Continental Echo." London. 1846. 12mo. pp. 469. [Evangelical.]

2. *Die Throne im Himmel und auf Erden* (The Thrones in Heaven and on Earth). By Pastor Uhlich. Dessau. 1845. 12mo. pp. 40. [Friend of Light.]

3. *Die Kirchliche Bewegung der Gegenwart* (The Ecclesiastical Agitation of the Present): *a Sermon.* By Dr. Grossman. Leipzig. 1846. 12mo. pp. 24. [Moderate Rationalist.]

4. *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung:* January, 1845. Article entitled, *Die Politische Stellung Preussens* (The Political Condition of Prussia). [Liberal.]

5. *Revue des Deux Mondes:* Octobre, 1845. Article entitled, *Histoire de l'Agitation Religieuse, d'après les Documens Politiques et les Pamphlets* (History of the Religious Agitation in Germany, from Political Documents and Pamphlets): Novembre, 1845. Article entitled, *Le Parti Constitutionnel en Prusse* (The Constitutional Party in Prussia): Janvier, 1846. Article entitled, *L'Allemagne du Present* (Germany of the Present); continued in the succeeding numbers.

6. *Vorträge vor Protestantischen Freunden, gehalten zu Magdeburg am*

Future." The question of the condition of Germany is one that seems fated never to be settled, because the data are in a state of constant change. The topographer of Sahara is puzzled, and not a little vexed, to find his outlines contradicted over night by the shift of the sand-heaps. We pity the man who thinks he has got a permanent and available chart of the German soil, more than we do the harassed amateur of South Sea exploring expeditions. Cook's ultimatum served very well for a score or two of years, till it was suddenly discovered that neither his dictum nor the ice-barrier was impassable; and now new coasts and inlets, taking most impracticable and contradictory directions, occur somewhat faster than a man of moderate means can furnish himself with their crayon profiles. The Congress of Vienna never obliterated the old limits of Germany, extinguished her obsolete territories, and inverted the customary relations of states and rulers, with more breathless facility, than the process of thought or the spirit of the age at present shifts the mental distinctions of her soil, like the bits of a kaleidoscope. Germany is a great, bewildering blur; to unravel nebulæ which have resisted all the mammoth telescopes were comparatively a jest. But we resist our inclination for this particular vein of description, lest a praiseworthy reluctance to peruse the impending article be a result, which we prefer not to hazard.

Any definite view of the condition of Germany which a journal ventures to offer must be understood to be valid only till the succeeding number. But we hold the question to be far more important than might be presumed from its confused and variable character. It is true, some of the elements which enter into that great heap of fermentation are little more noticeable than the boisterous hangers-on of a revolution. They are low agents from the suburbs, who mix up a deal of sansculottism with freedom of thought and conscience. We refer now, for instance, to the exaggerated radicalism of such men as Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach; they strike us like disappointed and spleeny politicians, who change their party, but not their nature. Both attempted something in the

---

Reformations-feste, 1842 (Addresses before Protestant Friends, delivered at Magdeburg upon the Reformation-festival). Leipzig. 12mo. pp. 62.

7. *The Progress and Prospects of Germany. A Discourse before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, at Providence, R. I., September* 1, 1847. By Henry Wheaton, late Minister of the United States at the Court of Prussia. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 54.

ultra-democratic line in politics; but as nobody formerly could be a politician in Germany except in a very imbecile and gentlemanly way, their ambition was soon diverted, by hints the most unequivocal, to the domain of theology, where, with changed formulas, their spirit remains the same. We refer to a crowd of shallow and testy pamphleteers, with no definite theories, but who exist simply to annoy the flanks. They are the moral vermin, whose puncture is no sooner felt than a lazy shake of the royal hand drives them into Switzerland, Belgium, or Paris. Unfortunately for Germany, every body can write; and we are not certain that the Prussian system of instruction does not render censorship a necessary antidote. We may also safely refer to some of the Catholic writers with more zeal than judgment. If the accounts of the last book of a man no less distinguished than Goerres, designed to oppose the Rongean movement, be correct, he has excited bad passions, disgraced himself and his cause, and authorized a complete Jacobinism of thought and language. There is also a certain class among the Communists to which we might refer, who injure the cause of the working-men, and vitiate the question of the rights of labor, so prominent in Germany, by loose talk about property and marriage, quite distinguishable from the scientific coolness and reserve of Fourier.*

But these are only the dregs and scum of Germany, who

* Some extracts upon German Communism, derived from the *Almanach Phalanstérien* for 1847, are corroborated by our impressions obtained from other sources. "This thought is attributed to Marc:—'Liberty does not exist, because Christianity is still too profoundly rooted.' Standau, head of a club at Lausanne, writes as follows:—'The club marches with giant strides in the path of atheism and of the subversion of morality.'" Yet we suspect he only refers to a conventional morality. Again, a journal contains these sentiments:—"God and immortality are effete words.' I would rather see great vices, I should prefer the commission of monstrous and bloody crimes, that there might be no longer any question about this tedious morality. All that the liberal party is doing in Germany has a fatiguing monotony." Mrs. Aston, wife of an English manufacturer, but daughter of a German pastor in Halberstadt, leads the female corps who criticize the immoralities of marriage. These exist in Boston no less than in Berlin, and call loudly for a better legislation; but we are not impressed by Mrs. Aston. "Booted and spurred, a switch in her hand, a cigar in her mouth, and a plumed chapeau coquettishly tipped upon one ear, Mrs. Aston promenades along the most fashionable streets in Berlin, and people say, 'There goes the German George Sand.'" Certainly not the Parisian George Sand, who has eschewed such amenities, while she has repressed, we think, her early grossness. But we refrain from propagating the scandals, which are so greedily devoured by the fastidious, about Mrs. Aston and her clique, whose great license may yet never have degenerated into crime.

briefly swim the surface, like the drift and yeast of a mighty tide. The various legitimate parties, who seek to win the public ear and to establish both their civic and spiritual validity, move in an atmosphere of much confusion, and generate no little heat; but then they all start with a definite theory, and advance according to fixed laws. They are surrounded with the turbulence inevitable in a revolutionary period; for Germany is passing through a great revolution, whose ultimatum is the radical modification of both Church and State. To one who values freedom of conscience, and that healthy growth which is achieved under a popular constitution, Germany is the centre of absorbing interest. A period of hope and activity has occurred there, to be paralleled only by the times of the Reformation, whose faults it is rectifying, and whose interrupted labors it seems destined to complete. We shall find, however, that even the legitimate parties constituting this great national movement contain men of crude thought, of hot passions, and of boundless egotism; so that the leaven of selfishness, which infects every human aspiration, is here also to be continually noticed and deplored. Each party is like Daniel's statue, with head of gold and feet of "iron mixed with miry clay." Neither does each present a unity of opinion any more than of motive, though the differences do not endanger that amount of coherence which is necessary to create a party that shall not merge all healthy individualism in one symbol or constitution. The party drill of the Evangelical wing and of the Pietists is, after that of the Ultramontanists, the most complete; for their unity is partly created by the necessity of defence. The state supports them, it is true, but the whole tone of German thought impinges upon their exclusive position, and threatens their emoluments. However varied and confused the movements which proceed from different confessions and hostile schools of philosophy, yet a fair elimination will give the prominent tendency in the formula of the great Frederic, — "Let every man save himself in his own way." This is a matter of some difficulty, where the state superintends the transit from earth to heaven, and its corps of testy *douaniers* intercept contraband articles as rigorously as if a customs-union had been established between those territories. Numerous civil disabilities await the courageous dissident, almost, and in many notorious instances actually, amounting to a decree of exile. In Germany *one* man may think as he pleases; but the moment that

two or three are gathered together, because their thought is similar and leads to unity of worship, the group is dispersed as savoring of rebellion. It is for this reason that a complete idea of the religious state of Germany cannot be obtained without entering the domain of politics. The two questions are as inextricably blended as Church and State are; a reform in either involves, more or less directly, a reform in the other also. Especially in Prussia is it true, that the strength of the constitutional party, and its hopes of success, reside in the great popular movement for freedom of thought and worship. The republican element is religious, and the free religious element is republican. A brief history of the rise and progress of the different religious sects in Germany, and of the Prussian constitutional movement, will give us material from which to construct a picture of Germany of the Present.

The fortunes of the Catholic Church first solicit our attention. That particular kind of Ultramontanism, or Roman influence, which compelled the formation of the first Lutheran party, as an embodiment of the German popular antagonism, is sufficiently well understood. But the very success of the Reformation produced a partial reaction in favor of Rome, so that the last century witnessed many a well-fought field reconquered by the diplomacy of Papal nuncios and the unceasing subterranean manœuvres of the Jesuits. Ultramontanism, then, has never ceased to be Germany's greatest foe. Her emperors have resisted it, and have often forced back the tide by strong but intermittent policy; still, the waters have stolen back again at the least subsidence of the pressure. The cowl has always carried more cunning than the portfolio. It must be understood that this resistance to Rome was not offered by Protestant Germany any more directly than by Catholic Germany. Emperors, both Protestant and Catholic, have sought to stem the political usurpations of the Papal chair, to preserve their own prerogative unimpaired. But the national feeling in the Catholic Church itself has always been strong enough to form a basis for these political operations. This important point must be distinctly noticed. The German's spiritual subscription has not stifled his love for the fatherland. Religion has not completely and triumphantly decided the questions of difference between Vienna, Munich or Berlin and Rome. This element, then, of national predilection has given the impulse to the frequent attempts to form a German Catholic Church, which we must

notice as first in order of those ideas which complicate the present question.

Frederic the Great was the first monarch who dared openly to resist, both in favor of his Catholic subjects and from his hatred of ecclesiastical control, the policy of Rome. He seems to have been fortunate in having for his contemporary a Pope who could not wield the thunders of Gregory, and who would have manifested his infallibility, at least of private judgment, by abdicating the sacred chair at the first sheen of Frederic's bayonets. He was the Benedict the Eighth, who, in corresponding with Voltaire, styled him his "beloved son in Christ Jesus." Such a man's theology was too easy to render him an uncompromising defender of the rights which he assumed, but always with as little zeal as judgment. Frederic attempted to organize the anti-Roman feeling among his Catholic subjects, by appointing a vicar-general who should be independent of Rome, and to whom all German Catholics were to appeal in ecclesiastical matters. He was not, like many previous German rulers, cajoled out of his opposition, nor was it possible to intimidate him. There runs an old soldier-song of the time of Frederic: —

> "The Empress has made an alliance with Gaul,
> And the Russians in haste on our boundaries fall,
> And the old Pope at Rome, too, revolts against me, —
> Up, children, and show them that Prussians are we!"

The king's policy stimulated to like resistance other parts of Germany, till at last the question appeared to be settled, that every succeeding Pope would have to contend against the extra heresy of a German Catholic Church. The bare idea of sharing the dominion of the indivisible Church with a German primate, whose brow in time the tiara might adorn, was intolerable, and all attempts to realize it have been tenaciously resisted, either by piety or with fraud.

The successor of Benedict was Clement the Thirteenth, in whose pontificate was published a remarkable book by Nicholas von Hontheim, himself a Catholic, entitled "The Position of the Church and the Legitimate Power of the Roman Pontiff." Von Hontheim was a bishop of Treves and prochancellor of its university. He addressed the Pope, and deprecated in strong and bold language the usurpations which had always distinguished his predecessors. He opposes the notion of pontifical supremacy by appeals to councils and his-

tory. He argued whether it were probable that princes and their people would tolerate foreign interference. He maintained that the Popes themselves invented the figment, that they were the representatives and vicegerents of Christ; and he appeals to the German bishops to resist the encroachments of Rome, and to establish their own natural and necessary claims. The work gained an honorable place in the famous Index, but it could not be suppressed. On the contrary, it was the fruitful germ of numerous anti-Papal writings,* which served to explain and consolidate the national feelings of the liberal wing of the Catholics. Von Hontheim was wheedled into a retractation; but it is well remarked, that "the gain to Rome was small, as he neither adduced any grounds for a change of views, nor any arguments in favor of hierarchical maxims." Galileo's quiet reservation, "But it does though," was more effective than his formal recantation.

The next serious and practical efforts to establish a German Catholic Church were made by Joseph the Second, of Austria, one of the few princes who have sought to mould, and not to crush, their age. He was, indeed, so far in advance of Austrian bigotry and superstition, as to be often thwarted by the want of practicable material. But he succeeded in establishing healthy reforms in the ecclesiastical condition of his country, and so far severed the old ties which bound her to Rome, that both Catholic clergy and laity freely felt and responded to the enlightened spirit of the times. He suppressed the majority of convents, and diverted their revenues to the establishment of schools for the people; the rest were forbidden to pay allegiance to any foreign religious order. He turned the monks to use, and sought to liberalize the mind and culture of the clergy. But more than this: he tore obnoxious bulls out of the liturgy, and forbade the promulgation of all succeeding ones until they had been first submitted to imperial censorship. All appeals to Rome in cases of conscience were forbidden. All ecclesiastical dig-

* As matter of history, we introduce the names of some prominent dissidents: "*Ickstatt* of Ingolstadt, *Barthel* of Wurzburg, *Koller*, *Rautenstrauch*, and *Eybel* of Vienna." The last wrote a vigorous pamphlet, entitled "What is a Pope, and what a Bishop?" *F. C. von Moser*, a distinguished lawyer, wrote a history of the Papal nuncios in Germany, which confirmed the bishops in their resistance to foreign interference. The four archiepiscopal electors of Mayence, Treves, Cologne, and Salzburg were prominent adherents of the German policy of Joseph the Second, who never would recognize a nuncio as the Pope's agent, either in spiritual or temporal affairs.

nities emanating from that quarter were to be refused. The ritual was simplified, and Joseph even committed what for a Catholic emperor was the ultraism of introducing a German hymn-book into the churches, and giving Bibles to the laity. And, finally, that his own spirit of toleration might live after him as the law of his empire, he issued a toleration-edict, full of surprising concessions to every existing sect in the country, and of liberal provisions for those which might afterwards appear. It is notable that many of the weightiest Catholic bishops firmly seconded their emperor's plans for reformation, throwing all their influence, so mighty for good or for evil, in the anti-Papal direction. No wonder that the startled and exasperated Pontiff made the famous Ultramontane journey, and removed the centre of infallibility from the Vatican to Vienna, "having first revoked by a brief the bull, *Ubi Papa, ibi Roma*, in order that, if he died upon the journey, the cardinals might assemble at Rome." He wanted money, too, for the reforms of the Emperor had grievously diminished the sacred funds, and Pius the Sixth, in attempting to drain the Pontine marshes, had effected that object only with his treasury. Therefore the world beheld the extraordinary spectacle of a Pope crossing the Apennines in February, bankrupt in purse and credit, a mendicant turned propagandist.

The Emperor resolved that the cause of German Catholicism, or perhaps — for his motives were twofold — his own prerogatives, should not be sacrificed in the amenities proper to be extended to this travelling Pope.

"Accordingly," — we translate from a French writer, — "when the Pope arrived at Ferrara, a Hungarian officer announced to him that the Emperor, his master, to receive so illustrious a guest, had caused to be prepared the apartment of Maria Theresa herself. The Pope was profoundly touched by this attention, and wished to recompense the messenger with the gift of a consecrated chaplet, but the messenger chosen by the Emperor was a Protestant. At Goritz, a detachment of guards waited to compliment his Holiness at his entry upon Austrian soil, and all the men of this detachment, without exception, belonged to dissenting communions. The Pope, astonished at not seeing the Archbishop of Goritz, demanded the reason of his absence, and learned with painful surprise that an order from the Emperor had caused that prelate to repair immediately to Vienna to justify himself for having appealed to Rome against the toleration-edict. The Pope officiated with great pomp at the church of St. Etienne, on Palm

Sunday. His master of ceremonies, whom he had brought from Rome, pretended that on this occasion the seat of the Pontiff, in the choir, ought to be a little more elevated than that of the Emperor. When Joseph was informed of this ridiculous pretension, he contented himself with causing his own seat to be removed, and with not appearing at the ceremony."

This stroke revealed to the public the failure of the negotiations which had commenced. For when they came to business, the Pope was eloquent, learned, and pathetic, but Joseph answered, with much phlegm, that he was not brought up to theology, but if his Holiness would submit his representations in writing, they should be referred to the clergy for examination. A little after this, his Holiness, thinking it would be politic to visit the prime-minister, did him the honor to wait upon him at his hotel. Von Kaunitz received him with much pomp and dignity, but had not thought it worth while to change his ordinary apparel; and when the Pope, taking leave, extended his hand to receive a Catholic kiss, the minister, pretending to misinterpret the gesture, shook it heartily, exclaiming, "With all my heart, with all my heart." Nothing but the necessity of draining the Pontine marshes could have carried a Pope imperturbably through such a scene. A few trivial concessions, afterwards magnified by forced construction, were the only results of this whole Papal travesty; unless we except a tolerable witticism which ran through all the coffee-houses of the capital, — "The Pope has read mass in Vienna, but without a Credo for the Emperor and without Gloria for himself." How magically do a few years invert all human relations! The liberal Pius of to-day is the object of undisguised alarm to bigoted Austria.

At length, as the result of all this opposition, a German Catholic Church narrowly escaped being formed by a congress of archbishops at Ems, whose resolutions declared that the Pope had no jurisdiction in Germany, that all bishops were equal, and that they had full power to exercise every spiritual function of the Church. But great offence was given to many German bishops by their exclusion from the invitation given to compose this congress. This, and other causes too complex for a passing notice, united with the consummate agitations of the Papal agents, defeated the most promising opportunity that the German Church has enjoyed. Yet resistance to Ultramontane influence was established as a per-

manent principle ; and the liberal wing have since even ventured to question the doctrine and discipline of Rome.

We next notice the prominent fact, that the Congress of Vienna discussed the feasibility of a German Catholic Church. This originated in the influence of no less a Catholic than Von Wessemberg, vicar-general of Constance. He wished to obtain a constitution, a fixed revenue, and a national primate, but under the "guaranty of a concordat with Rome." The Prussian minister proposed this basis to the Congress, and even drew up an article which he wished to introduce into the federal compact ; but the court of Rome succeeded by intrigue in postponing the whole question. And much which is matter of history may be briefly compressed into the statement, that the German lower clergy, who had silently recovered their old influence during the reaction and exhaustion which followed the Liberation war, steadily and clamorously opposed every popular demonstration of German princes or of liberal Catholics. So that the sudden outbreak of the Rongean movement, which only gave a new voice and front to the ancient dissatisfaction, found the Papal power again consolidated upon German soil, only to yield before a great popular demand in the bosom of its own communion.

The point that chiefly demands prominence is, that all these attempts, especially the last, are based upon the national German element. They embody the desire, now irresistible, for political and spiritual freedom. The religious element is inextricably mingled with the temporal, because the Church herself has always mingled them, and, by forcing obedience to a constitution whose abuses were sanctioned by religion, has driven the liberal party to demand both civil and religious freedom in the same breath. The question of mixed marriages clearly embraces these two elements. We must not, then, underrate the German Catholic movement, either on account of its popular character, or because its speakers combine appeals to patriotism with their theological dissent from Rome. It does not involve a purely religious question ; it cannot, because that from which it dissents is a spiritual establishment, guarantied and supported by its political connections. Under cover of religious infallibility, it deeply affects the national prosperity. It is hostile to the most conservative side of the party of progress, because the existence of popular constitutions, and, above all, the consummation of

the long-cherished plan for German unity, would be fatal to Papal influence on German soil, and Ultramontanism would grow into disrepute as a sect, as soon as it lost its influence as a party. Its politico-ecclesiastical oppressions necessitate a twofold movement of dissent.

Some observers have been disgusted with the frequent appeals of Ronge and his coadjutors to the historical traditions of the German people, with their recapitulation, in exciting language, of the cases of successful resistance to Roman influence, and with their stirring allusions to the old spirit of the Liberation war. But it is an error to conclude thus hastily, that the movement presents chiefly a political and social aspect. It really does present the precise *qualification* of a purely religious movement that we might expect from the conditions which surround it. A purely religious movement is an impossibility in Germany, unless it start with a subscription to the authorized confessions. Any thing which changes the structure of established doctrine and discipline, any theological dissent from the bosom of whatsoever communion, interferes with the policy of the State; and it necessarily becomes a mixed movement, which seeks to remove the civil disabilities that await dissent. The purely theological movement of the Unitarians could not exist in Germany. This impossibility is proved by the suppression of the Friends of Light, who, with the exception of two or three more thorough Rationalists, embody the main position of American and English Unitarians. No reason can be assigned for the entire suppression of that movement, when the tremors of government could have been allayed by the suspension of those whom their own party only countenanced on the ground of freedom, except that in impinging upon the authorized confession it menaced necessarily the State. Their civil disabilities, therefore, are not removed; and these are such as we should consider extremely arbitrary and oppressive. The rights of social worship, and the propagation of their views by preaching, are forbidden. Their clergy cannot solemnize a marriage which shall be valid. They can neither form new parishes, nor can they hold their present ones, except by sufferance. How positive and successful a movement would Unitarianism have been, under such a system of profound exclusion? Can we wonder, then, that their preachers should criticize the State as freely as the Confession? It is no less a religious movement because it is obliged to be political in order to exist.

But this necessity is most striking in the case of the German Catholics. Their opponents have invoked the power of the law in every State, in order to extinguish the dissent. They had a right to do so, because Catholicism is an admitted confession, and therefore civil disabilities await the dissident. Is it, then, marvellous, or does it invalidate either the sincerity or the religion of the new movement, if its preachers attack that Ultramontane influence which strains every nerve to array the State against them, and which surrounds them with the traps of Papal intrigue? The whole political power of Rome in Germany is bent upon extinguishing the heresy. Therefore the heresy, as the very condition of its existence, to gain nothing but its fulcrum, must first oppose that power. And then, too, a candid observer will allow due weight to the intense effervescence of the present German crisis. Questions of surpassing importance for the future dignity and freedom of that country are agitating the public mind, with an earnestness which nothing among us has matched since the Revolution. Compared with it, our Antislavery agitation, we grieve to say, is still in unnoticeable infancy. These questions are, — Shall the German States construct a national unity? shall the people at last enjoy a representative and constitutional government? shall Russian influence cease on German soil? The German Catholic preachers may well be pardoned, if, sharing the national enthusiasm and pledged to a kindred movement of freedom, they utter the general hope, and round some of their periods with a political unction that we cannot help suspecting, because our relations to the State are so radically different. Notice, too, the fact, that free governments and a German unity of States are impracticable till the Ultramontane influence be destroyed, and the close ties which bind their movement to the general interest will be no longer unappreciated. It is one of the great providential movements of the time; apart from the character of any or all of its advocates, distinct from the precise calibre of creed they severally construct, it is a genuine embodiment of the great desire for religious and political freedom, qualified and tinged by its Catholic connection. If it is religious, it is so because conscience has been distorted and oppressed; if it is political, it is so because it cannot otherwise continue to be religious, and because it is vitally connected with the national movement, to be independent from which, its advocates must first expatriate themselves, and seek, like the ban-

ished Lutherans, a soil where a purely religious movement is not impracticable.

Then all discussions as to what Ronge denies, or how orthodox is Czerski, become insignificant. If they are disposed to fraternize with the Friends of Light, and to imitate the individualism which reigns in that Unitarian communion, it is to us only another sign of the genuineness of the dissent; and it also suggests another characteristic which is shared by every one of Germany's legitimate movements in Church or State. It is a protest against the morally binding character of theology; it is an attempt to express the moral indifference of all opinions which do not lawfully have a moral termination. It is a movement hostile to all confessions, so far as they are erected by human bigotry into moral and spiritual tests. Its motto might justly be, "Doing before believing." To this ultimate the whole current of German philosophical thought has tended. It has existed in the shape of scientific formulas, and has constituted the chief heresy of the literary club and the philosophical lecture-room. But it has now taken to itself a new and more practicable form, in these various popular agitations. The great scientific truth has worked its way downward to the masses, and they take courage to believe in *life* as distinct from the most astute and elaborate confession. And they thus lend to philosophy what she has long needed, the element of life. They make the half-audible heresy practicable and domestic. It is at last shown that there is an abyss between the scientific truths and the moral principles which the same intellect may believe in, but only the latter of which can be converted into life, while they acknowledge no relations with the former. If any confusion has ever existed on this point, it has resulted from the refusal to separate different kinds of truth, and to confine each to its province. Scientific truths may exist with respect to the nature of Christ; but his practice, and the imitation of it, involve the distinct elements of moral truth. This essential question is now popularly discussed in Germany; and it is a marked element of the great national renovation. There is a desire *to live*, in every sense; a longing to put into practice all that has been practicable in German thought. The people will now engage in politics, from which they have been jealously excluded,—they will create constitutions that shall represent *themselves*, and not a bureaucracy, and that shall be adequate to protect their rights. They will have

freedom of the press, open courts, and trial by jury. They will have liberty, not only to believe philosophically, but to embody their belief, and also to extend their moral practice by extending their social relations and abilities. If we believe that a just God moulds all human agencies to their proper issue, and never extinguishes the faintest throb of life; if we believe that men and races do not retrograde when they manifest life and motion, and that nothing but *inertia*, or a secession from the current of life, leads to barbarism; and if we believe that a race, which was never yet recognized save in the portfolios of its ministers, the iron dogmatism of its confessions, and the hirsute formulas of its philosophies, must finally, by the force of nature, become a body replete with life, palpitating with nerves, ruddy with physical and mental health, — then we must believe that Germany is now on the eve of a regeneration no less radical and practical than this. All things subserve the providential design; and religious dissent not the least notably of all, because ancient causes have implicated it with every movement of the national life. Only when furnished with this key can we enounce sober and definite opinions on the state of Germany, and do justice to her much abused religious movements.

A few words more with respect to the German Catholics in particular. An able correspondent of the London Inquirer, in a summary which corresponds entirely with our own impressions, writes as follows: — The object of the German Catholic leaders is

"the formation of a German National Church, upon the basis of the practical truths and principles of Christianity. To demonstrate practically the feasibility of such a union; to exhibit on a small scale the machinery and organization by which such a union can be best effected and maintained; to show, by observing perfect tolerance and charity among many diversities of opinion, and by conceding, through the medium of a free democratic constitution, the utmost possible liberty of action to the individual members and the separate congregations, that union upon such a basis is as practicable as it is desirable; — this is now regarded as the 'mission of the German Catholics.'"

To which we might add, that, in fact, their mission is more radical and extensive; since, if it proves fatal to Ultramontane influence, it will prove beneficial to the cause of national regeneration.

All German authorities do not agree with us. The distinguished Professor Ullmann, of Heidelberg, a representative of orthodoxy according to the Rationalism of Schleiermacher, published a critique of the German Catholic movement, in which he gives melancholy expression to his doubts. He cannot see in it a sufficient religious vitality; the movement is not *interior* enough to satisfy his quietism. He thinks that men need not reform their church, if they only reform themselves; that simple liberty of conscience is not the highest condition of a religious life. He has a distaste for the external and popular character of the movement, and doubts whether it can have a positive result. In much of this, we may be permitted to say, can be discovered the judgment of the Platonizing theologian, whose point of view is exclusively doctrinal and spiritual. The tone is precisely analogous to that affected by such thinkers among us as desire to abolish certain peculiar institutions by sedulously forbearing to apply Christianity to them. May we not ask whether the German Catholics would not reform themselves more successfully after they had reformed their church? since it is no less true that effete organizations impede growth, than that bad passions vitiate organizations. It is sheer folly to expect the reformation and cultivation of a soul which is lodged in a half-starved body, tapestried with rags. After the devils had gone out of the man, and he sat clothed and in his right mind, then it is probable he found coherence and supreme solace in the words of Jesus; but the preaching even of the Son of Man would have been so much idle breath to the insane and wretched denizen of tombs. It seems to us that Professor Ullmann has failed to take cognizance of some important elements of this reform. We find a broader and more philosophical spirit in the enunciation of Professor Gervinus, a tolerant and sagacious historian, who doubts "the possibility of a new church, in which the dominion of religious interests alone and prominently should be extended, even among the greater portion of the people, because this would be contrary to the natural course of events, and an historical retrogression." We also sympathize with the remarks of Baltzer, a critic of the Halle Gazette, who states that true reform depends upon the central element of religion, but only as that is applied to every phase of collective national life, — art, science, polity, society. He thinks it is the mission of German Catholicism, indeed of all Protestantism, to make appli-

cation of religion, as the plastic reformatory element. We have already expressed our conviction that this is the national tendency at present, and that it accounts for the mixed character of the different movements.

But Professor Ullmann and all the mystics are alarmed by the choruses, the brass bands, and the banquets. There was great popular excitement in the time of Luther, and yet, when he visited a city, the windows along the quay were not crowded with fair women waving their spotless cambric, and showering his sturdy person with roses. Such demonstrations were dog-cheap upon the Rongean progress. There is a prejudice among us, also, against celebrating a religious movement with such popular enthusiasm. We never revel, except during Whig campaigns or in the halls of the Montezumas. Even the annual Unitarian Collation cannot strictly be styled a revel. So that this weakness of the Germans is timely capital for partisan pamphleteers. Religion and revelry alliterate sarcastically enough to serve the hostility of an Evangelical journal, but, like all sarcasms, it contains more spleen than justice. Let us transport ourselves into the place of these Germans. During the slavery of many a weary year, diplomacy, censorship, and the police have quenched all popular enthusiasm, and suppressed its demonstrations. It was once roused, and sedulously fomented, to crown the three days at Leipsic with victory; but that was to rescue ungrateful monarchies, not to liberate a long disappointed people. It is therefore an entirely new enjoyment for Germany, — these mass meetings, these fraternizing banquets, this speech-making and preaching at the street-corners and in the pleasure-groves. And the middle classes have acquired so much life and impulse, they are so full of hope and long pent-up energies, they found their enthusiasm upon so many definite political and religious demands, that the State for once has wisely yielded to the current, except in one or two cases of rash and murderous interference,* and has been

* The collision at Posen, July 29, 1845, is chargeable to Catholic intrigue. Czerski was advertised to preach in an Evangelical church; the Catholics took the alarm, and conspired to prevent his appeal to the people. With this object, they got up a great procession in honor of two Polish saints, contriving in the interim to irritate the populace against Czerski by inflammatory placards. The Prussian authorities gave out that freedom of worship should be sustained, by force if need were. On the day appointed, the procession deployed, and a collision soon took place, notwithstanding the presence of the troops, who were finally forced to fire upon the crowd.

content with sending its *gendarmes* to hover round the flanks of every popular gathering. Is it strange, then, that the German should enjoy, with the zest of an oft-baffled appetite, his liberty? We are so sated with the excitement of popular assemblies, that we cannot understand how the phlegmatic German should be so intoxicated with them. The German is no longer phlegmatic. He has finally concluded to demand certain rights and liberties, and the force of an earnest public opinion must prevail. His blood is up, and we may be assured that he will succumb only to the most arbitrary and forcible resistance. Nor, in the present temper of the people, would such a resistance be any wiser than the dogged opposition of Louis to the National Assembly. But, in the mean time, the Germans are enjoying the rare excitement of sympathizing and agitating in masses. Perhaps they sometimes spur the new hobby too furiously, and furnish the eminent impartiality of Pietism with matter for a quip or a paragraph. We can pardon considerable exuberance in a race of men who have formerly sinned through excess of torpid patience. Neither, at the worst, are banquets and processions *a priori* arguments against any cause.

The Friends of Light sin in the same pleasant manner. Professor Guerike, of Halle, who went to one of their banquets because Uhlich had attended a conference of his party, was considerably shocked at some blood-stirring choruses "in honor of the emancipated mind of Germany, and of 'our O'Connell.'" Whether the mild and spiritual Uhlich, whose "Confessions" recall the temper of our own Channing, be the counterpart of O'Connell or not, it is certain

---

Czerski, after having preached before an audience of six thousand persons, barely escaped alive from the infuriated populace. These scenes of violence procured the accession to the cause of a prominent Polish priest. The trouble at Leipsic arose in the protest of the Friends of Light against the Augsburg Confession. The Saxon Minister of Worship declared that it was his duty to enforce that Confession. The people heard this decision with lively dissatisfaction, and their irritation broke out, soon after, at a military review. A vast crowd gathered in front of the hotel, whither Prince John had retired to sup with the commandant of the municipal guard. Ominous chorals of Luther, and choruses from Schiller's Robbers, smote the ear with threatening emphasis. At length, a volley of stones shivered the front windows of the hotel: the Prince fled, the troops of the line approached, and an unexpected discharge, after the people had begun slowly to retire, killed nine and wounded thirty! Most of them were inoffensive citizens, whom curiosity had drawn to the spot. A post-office clerk was shot dead as he stood upon the sidewalk, with his betrothed leaning upon his arm.

that Germany never had any body before who could be likened, even in jest, to the Irish patriot. The large principles of liberty, so fearlessly yet so temperately advocated by Uhlich, his popular doctrine of the dissolution of Church and State as a condition of their religious existence, may have seduced the Tyrtæi of the movement into making that comparison. It is nothing to laugh at, but is rather a very significant sign of the times. Can this, or any other little popular caprice, rival, in painful absurdity and unchristian temper, the remark of an Evangelical critic upon the sudden death by apoplexy of König, a prominent Friend of Light? He says: — "He is now gone where he will know whether the Bible was true or false, — Jesus Christ, God or man. To his own master he standeth or falleth. God grant that he may have repented before it was too late, and so find mercy of the Lord in that day!" *

Leaving these two movements for the present, we now offer a brief history of the formation of the Evangelical Church. The existence of two Confessions, as the result of the old Reformation, the Calvinist, or Reformed, and the Lutheran, is sufficiently well known; the problem ever since has been to unite them. Even before the time of Leibnitz, this project was vaguely entertained by several German princes; among others by John Sigismund, Charles Lewis of Baden, and by Frederic William, who was styled the Great Elector.

---

* The charge of radicalism is successfully rebutted by Uhlich, in his pamphlet, "The Thrones in Heaven and on Earth." He shows how the same charge has been brought against every movement, from the time of Christ, which has aimed at largeness of life and simplicity of belief. Society and politics become involved, implicitly at least, with every reassertion of moral principles; the State always suspects every new expression of vitality. He shows that the Friends of Light wish to overthrow neither the State nor the Church, neither belief in the king nor in Christ. But he defines the Church to be, not the clerical class, but the whole congregation; not our dead fathers, but God's spirit in living bodies; not an institution, but the simple community of living Christians, who can acknowledge no authority but that of the spirit. The national and liberal tendency of the pamphlet is apparent. We notice that the German Catholics are included in the Prussian Toleration Edict, issued last May; the Friends of Light are excluded. If the newspapers are to be trusted, this edict tenders civic rights to certain dissenters. Ronge has sent one of the most popular preachers of his movement, named Dowiatt, to this country, in order to establish a branch of the German Church; and a newspaper especially devoted to this reform has been just started in New York. A French observer, who heard Dowiatt and others speak at Canstatt, a little village near Stuttgart, seems to have been impressed with the genuine feeling of he audience more than with the felicity of the appeals.

In fact, there have always been two projects, — to unite the two Confessions, and also to effect a coalition between Catholicism and united Protestantism. As the German Catholic movement seemed to unite the Roman Church to the spirit of Protestantism, the latter scheme has again risen into a prominent object of desire and thought. Leibnitz first attempted it, and sought an earnest correspondence with Bossuet, hoping that something might grow out of a serious relation established with that great divine. But the policy of Rome has never stooped to conciliate, except while the Pontine marshes needed draining, or while French troops were annexing the treasures of the Vatican to the Louvre. Leibnitz recovered from his early dream, and advocated with enthusiasm the less formidable plan of Protestant unity. Its fortunes have been accommodated to the mood of the reigning power in Germany. Frederic William the First was not hostile to it; Frederic the Great and Voltaire probably amused themselves over a plan which clerical acrimony seemed to them for ever to adjourn; it was opposed by Frederic William the Second; and when forcibly consummated by Frederic William the Third, it was the most odious measure of his reign. We can best present this incident in the graphic summary of a French journalist, Taillandier. The coalition was not accomplished

"without grave difficulties and energetic resistance. On September 27, 1817, during the *fêtes* of the tri-centennial anniversary of the Reformation, the king published a proclamation inviting the two churches to fraternize. They obeyed, and assisted at a kind of amicable union made in a moment of enthusiasm. It now devolved upon government to give this union a regular character and a durable form. In 1822, a liturgy was digested; it was said to be for the court-service, and the government simply recommended it to the different parishes in the kingdom. But three years later, in 1825, it was imposed upon them, and since that time there has been but one church, which takes the name of the Evangelical Church. At that moment a new party was formed, very active and very resolute, the party of the Old Lutherans (*die Altlutheraner*). All those who remained attached, notwithstanding the official recommendations, to the old spirit of Luther, to the old Saxon religion, united and assumed a hostile attitude."

Persecution could not intimidate them. They held a synod at Breslau, in 1835; —

"Thus braving the temporal authority, and declaring that nothing could tear them from their faith. When the persecution became too galling, they went into exile; whole communities, men, women, children, with the pastor at their head, emigrated to North America. And they had not only the appearance of liberty, but strict right on their side. The seventh article of the Treaty of Westphalia,* and the sixteenth article of the Federal Diet,† guaranty to them the free exercise of their worship; it is not they who separate from the national faith, — the dissidents, the sectaries, are the founders of the Evangelical Church."

This union, then, is embarrassed with numerous difficulties. The points of difference between the Augsburg, or Lutheran, and the Calvinistic Confession have neither been surrendered nor merged in a third product; though there has been a concession with respect to the Lord's Supper, which renders its administration uniform. The number of Old Lutherans is not rated above eight thousand, but many vigorous writers espouse their cause.

Hengstenberg appears to be the acknowledged head of the Prussian Church, and his "Evangelical Church Gazette" is its organ. Under his manipulations, aided by royal sympathy with Pietism, it has become the ultra-conservative influence of the realm. Nothing has the good fortune to gain its countenance. One would think that the Rongean movement would have been hailed from this orthodox quarter with enthusiasm; for one scarlet abomination in Berlin cannot brook another in Rome. Opposition to Ultramontane influence, too, ought to be its natural and necessary policy. Its forms of worship, notwithstanding a little dabbling of late with Puseyism, are meagre and unattractive; therefore the splendor of high mass, and the altar-pieces which marry art to religion, that the worshipper may be persuaded to devotion, ought to be offensive to the Puritans of Prussia. But no; Ronge has violated their historical sensibilities; he has not intelligence enough to comprehend the majesty of that sacred establishment, which has been the slow accretion of ages; he has appealed to low motives against pilgrimages and relics; he has substituted in their place banquets and processions. Yet all this tender reverence for old clothes does not secure the sup-

* Concluded in 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' war. The princes were pledged to persecute no one for difference of opinion.

† The Germanic Confederation, formed June 8, 1815, just before the fall of Napoleon. It insured the legal equality of all religious denominations.

port of the Church Gazette for Jewish emancipation. It never forgets who threw the first Christian garment into hands which made it an article of traffic. Strange to say, on this point Pietism and infidelity find common ground; for while the vagabondism of the Jews' quarter is shocking to the taste of Hengstenberg, the philosophy of Bruno Bauer revolts at the attempt to amalgamate a race so impracticable with modern institutions. Bauer does not sympathize with the present rage for *rococo*, which mixes periods and styles. While the orthodox primate is willing to let the wrath of God exhaust itself upon the chosen people, and would not for a moment be thought to interfere with their providential destiny, the fugleman of atheism cannot permit the cause of pure democracy to be hampered by the accession to civil privileges of the people who still believe in a theocracy, but in nothing else. The vulgar intolerance of the former finds its parallel only in the colorphobist of New England; the native Germanism of the latter can be matched also by our latest form of national exclusion. With different feelings, both agree that the children's teeth are set on edge by the fathers' folly.*

A temporary distraction has occurred in the Evangelical Church, stimulated by a general disgust at its intolerance, and particularly by its denunciations of the Friends of Light.

---

* The great question of Jewish emancipation demands a separate article. The cause is powerfully sustained by the liberal parties in Germany, and many important concessions have already taken place. The Jews also make unexpected advances, and remit their obstinate resistance to prevalent ideas. In some places their Sabbath has been made to coincide with Sunday; in others, government has abolished the Jews' Quarter, — an important movement, the prejudice against which has a faint parallel in our reluctance to abolish the Free Pews. The American negro and the German Jew are corresponding objects of civilized reserve. The Catholics are particularly violent upon this question. They commenced what may be styled a pro-slavery agitation in the Duchy of Baden, in 1842; but the government gave unequivocal proofs of its intentions, by immediately raising Gustavus Weil, author of a Life of Mahomet, to a professorial chair at Heidelberg. The question regularly divides the representative chamber of that Duchy. In 1845, the Wurtemberg Chamber voted an augmentation of the budget for Jewish worship, and solicited the entire emancipation of the Jews. A German Year-book for 1842–43 gives the names of nine Jewish professors of eminence in Germany. The literature, philosophy, and science of that country are deeply indebted to them. They fraternize with the German Catholics, and that is an important agitation for them, because its basis is the civil, moral, and spiritual indifference of theology. Nearly a million of Jews await their recognition of equality with the other Communions. Our limits compel us to leave the whole question with this note.

The moderate party content themselves with simply protesting; but it seems that they gained a decisive victory upon several disputed points, at the general Synod of Brandenburg. The Pietist division came prepared with some extreme propositions, desiring to force the character, and establish the basis, of the meeting. They related chiefly to discipline in affairs of conscience; but the moderate Rationalists, or the democratic wing, rejected them all by a considerable majority. Then the Pietists demanded the excommunication of the Friends of Light; but a resolution was offered which maintained that the new sect was the legitimate result of the Church's intolerance and dogged reproduction of feudal reminiscences, and that a *reformed* church need not oppose dissent by any measures of violence. The results of the Synod were a severe blow to Pietistic influence in Prussia, which all the sympathy of Frederic William, so continually disturbed by his liberal impulses, cannot again erect into an active and predominating element. The common sense of the people revolts at this disguised Catholicism; and the famous address of the magistrates of Berlin to the king, in which they denounced the very party he was inclined at intervals to favor, was a significant token of the general sentiment. The answer of the monarch, which was a curious affectation of popular liberality, entirely neutralized by a strong undertow of prerogative, provoked a reply. Were not Prussia really democratic, we should not have the singular spectacle of a descendant of Frederic exchanging theological passes with his subjects. But the present king has a weakness for making speeches, and, being by nature ardent and impulsive, he has sometimes excited hopes which he has failed to satisfy. He was present at Cologne, to lay the corner-stone at the commencement of the restoration of the cathedral, and the enthusiasm of the people was immense to see a king flourishing a trowel, and to hear the most magnificent promises of future liberty and toleration, — promises which lent a stability to the party he has since so grievously disappointed. A speech by Metternich would have been equally effective, with the advantage to the speaker of the comfortable after-thought that nothing had been promised.

Just before this demonstration of the Berlin magistracy, the liberal party in the Evangelical Church published a document, which is styled "The Declaration of the Fifteenth of August" (1845), signed by eighty-six persons, all of whom

were professors, preachers, or consistorial counsellors, with two of the titular bishops, created by the king, at their head. This was a protest against Pietism, precipitated by the unjust oppression of the Friends of Light. After denouncing that influence, they proceed to define their theological position; and though they make delicate distinctions between their own and all other parties, it is plain that it coincides with the average sentiment of the Friends of Light, — so much so, that the protest was signed with enthusiasm by numerous members of that dissent, commencing with the honored name of Uhlich. The simple formula, "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," which is made to mean every thing or nothing, as one pleases, was accepted freely, and every variety of conviction seemed to long for liberty to rest undisturbed beneath it. Not so, however; the Argus of the Church Gazette detected the cloven foot of Rationalism underneath the decent attire of this Declaration. The attack was vigorously sounded, and clouds of envenomed pamphlets darkened the air. Who carries away the palm in this conflict of spleens is an unimportant question; for though the Church Gazette never surrenders, yet the Declaration cannot be repealed, for it expresses, we think, the fast predominating sentiment of Prussia, and therefore of all Germany.*

The existence of Pietism is an example of a purely religious movement taking place within the limits of the old Confession. It questioned no point of doctrine, but was content with throwing a new element of life into the old and tottering organization. Therefore it was not a sect or a body, but simply an influence in the Church, represented by different

* The pamphlet by Grossmann, mentioned at the head of this article, embodies the opinions of the moderate party. It asserts the necessity of reform in the Evangelical Church, and indicates the liberal bias of the popular mind. It then proceeds to define three things, essential to the future welfare of the Church: — 1. A livelier sympathy among its members. To this end the liberal pressure from without is seasonable. 2. More simple and refined forms of doctrine and discipline. He clings to the general formula of the Declaration, and says, — "Well for us, if we can erect a Confession of Faith which shall correspond to every grade of belief in the congregation and its members, which, like the Lord's prayer, shall afford equal attraction and consolation to the simplicity of the humblest and the thought of the profoundest, which shall represent the mean of order and freedom." 3. A constitutional enlargement, which shall grant the Church powers independent of the State, whose slave she has hitherto been; but without entirely severing the bond. The sermon closes with exhortations to admit and confirm the liberal spirit of the age. Grossmann is First Professor of Theology and Superintendent at Leipsic.

men according to their temperaments, and varying in intensity over the whole surface, without declaring any definite boundaries. It was the profound azure of the sky diminishing into the dull gray of the horizon. It has ceased to perform its legitimate mission as the regenerative element in the Lutheran Church, because it has declined into an invincible dogmatism; and it manifests, through all the present troubles, a most unsanctified temper. Should it secede now and become a sect, it could not reveal any more plainly than it does at present, that it has ceased to have a healthy influence, and ought to be banished for its sins to the limbo of exploded systems and worn-out energies. It has disappointed the promise of its childhood, and has exhausted, like the generous youth who sinks into the testy and irreclaimable debauchee, the most capacious and elastic constitution. For when Pietism first arose, in the days of the devout and enthusiastic Spener, it was a healthy protest against the formality and deadness of the churches. It was a natural revival of the religious energies of Germany, oppressed by meagre and dogmatic preaching, and by narrow interpretations both of Scripture and of the Confession. Still later it became the natural foil of the pure understanding, whose systems of philosophy were an analysis of one mental element, instead of a warm and living generalization of all; it soon, then, brought healthy relief to the austere Hebræo-Stoicism of Kant. It was always devout and spiritual, though it may have been sometimes vulgar, and often mystical. It was a German translation of French Quietism and of English Methodism; it sometimes manifested the impracticable reveries of the former, and sometimes the mad excitements of the latter. It was laughed at, opposed, and persecuted; therefore it gained a vigorous life, because the pressure from without confirmed its resolution, while it slowly eliminated its excrescences. It has always been the ready antagonist of every phase of German thought which too boldly rationalized or too flatly contradicted the Confession. It has instinctively opposed, in turn, the dry textualism of worthy country parsons, the meagre naturalism of Paulus, the indifference of the literary clique, the idealism of Hegel, and, lastly, the mythology of Strauss; but with poorer success at every crisis, because it has gradually resigned its original principle of spiritual life, and taken to dogmatism, which is dotage. Its tender piety, its healthy mysticism, its active charity, have

failed to permeate the body of the Church, and are confined to a few who represent that religious life which is the possible companion of every belief, but who still cling to the delusion that it is the organic result of one only saving Confession. For this reason the Pietists have resolutely repelled the spirit of the age, which seems to them synonymous with atheism and inward dissolution. They cannot understand the pure Idea of Hegel, they wilfully misrepresent the tone of a healthy Rationalism, they with difficulty award the praise of scientific integrity to Strauss. The natural tendency of the unbalanced religious element to isolation, which in the case of their predecessors provoked a king to charge them with wishing to have a country besides Germany, has culminated in their present position. They are like the state-convict who was imprisoned in the dreadful cell which admitted of no enlargement, but which daily diminished till it stifled him. The Pietists are no longer fit to criticize, because their forefingers seem bigger than the universe whose light they intercept. They are still less fit to revivify, because a true life has already begun to exist beyond their circle, which they in turn must incorporate with their own exhausted system, or else pay the penalty which waits upon resistance to the laws of nature. A blind, traditional hostility to Rationalism, which is propagated like a Highland feud, and kept up with the implacability of a Corsican *vendetta*, cannot lend a vital influence to the most religious set of men; neither can the panic created by the brilliant surprise of Strauss, whose keen and sustained onset has pierced their centre, become a permanent element to reconstruct their shattered fortunes. The very panic illustrates the dotage of their faith. In vain are the tender piety of Tholuck, the indomitable nerve of Hengstenberg, the scientific liberality of Neander; nothing can save the Evangelical Church from its unwilling renovation by the influx of a free and healthy inquiry; the finest gifts cannot much longer sanctify the feudal union of the Church and State; the most impassioned appeals cannot decide the awakened people in favor of a new Ultramontanism, which clumsily tricks out its skeleton harshness with the faded trumpery of Rome. Pietism has compromised its position and its hopes, because it cannot see that dissent is pious, that the popular will has grown vital and earnest, and that the very element of life, which lent all the sincerity to their ancient protest, encumbered with doctrine as it was,

has passed into new hands, that wisely subordinate the accidental to the real. If Pietism has ever really been devout, if it has ever attempted to reduce to life whatsoever things are honest and of good report, if it has ever been graced by profound scholarship or enlivened by ready eloquence, it has so far affected and moulded the national spirit, and thus prepared it, with other influences, to discharge with dignity and resolution the duties of the present crisis. But when a church opposes, with fatuous zeal, the reforms which legitimately result from her own principles, she becomes simply despicable; and the memory of her services is long effaced by the sense of her treachery. It is a shameful sight, when that which was the child of progress refuses to be the parent of reform. Pietism has become a sect, Puritan in its doctrine, Puseyite in its ceremonial, Papal in its spirit; and no degenerate sect is ever content to expire when its functions have ceased to exist.*

After this attempt to define the present position of the sects and movements upon German soil, our attention is attracted by the constitutional question in Prussia. Representative chambers exist in the other States of Germany, according to the provisions of the Confederation in 1815. But their power is constantly limited by the influence of the courts and by the preponderating presence of salaried functionaries. There are more freedom and bold assertion of popular rights in Wurtemberg and Baden than elsewhere,

* The horror of Rationalism entertained by the Pietists of the Evangelical Church is fairly shown to be either foolish or knavish, in the pamphlet entitled "Addresses before Protestant Friends," where one of the speakers proves that the Pietists rationalize as deliberately as themselves. His position is, that the Evangelical theology, with its logical harmony and consecutiveness, its adroit adaptation of all Bible texts to the given theory, and its reconciliation of all discrepancies, arose from the need of satisfying the understanding. We call to mind, that, when Schelling was invited to Berlin, to play the part of makeweight against Hegelianism, he made his philosophy orthodox and his orthodoxy philosophical simply by satisfying the understanding that there was no discrepancy between them. The theory of the Potencies was translated into the dogmatic scheme of orthodoxy, and that back again into Potencies, till all good Christians were dazzled with the nimbleness and delighted with the result. There was nothing now to fear, since Christianity had been identified with philosophy, by the man who said that "the true living God should be brought into the freed consciousness, and not a false idol, be its name ever so splendid, be it called Reason or whatever else," and who, in making the attempt, performed the boldest feat of Rationalism in that winter semester. But he who reconciles orthodoxy with the natural order of the universe is not called a Rationalist at Berlin; only he who, like Uhlich, shows that they are irreconcilable.

and the reigning influence has been unexpectedly resisted on several important questions; still, the representative tether is extremely short. The success of the popular party in all the minor States of Germany depends upon its success in Prussia, which has of late given the key-note to the Confederation in all matters of prominence. It is sufficient, then, to examine the growth and prospects of the constitutional party in that State. Its success involves that of every effort for moral and religious freedom, because, when the people succeed in representing themselves, they will soon legitimate and confirm the liberal tendencies within the Church; for it will be easy to refuse the king a grant for railways, if he refuses to acknowledge the dissents which will be freely represented by the members of a popular chamber.

There can be no such thing as a constitutional monarchy, that is, a government in which the royal will is the balance-wheel of the popular action, except in a country which has not yet bridged over the chasm between the throne and the tribune. There is such a thing as a constitution, and such a thing as a monarchy; but constitutional monarchy on the continent of Europe is only a convenient phrase to designate the transition-state, when the king is still occupied in resisting the people and saving something from the wrecks of his prerogative, and when the people do not yet feel that their liberties are secure. Kings never surrender their divine right except upon compulsion, and the people whose reverie is of freedom are never content with partial concessions, which only enhance the value of the privileges that are withheld. A king who shall be the conservative power and the balance-wheel of the state is a pleasant fiction of the monarchists. The constitution always usurps the sceptre, and the balance is adjusted by nature herself more successfully than by a king who is fed and lodged by his commons. Happy is that country whose people effect this perilous transition by the bloodless victories of the pen, and who silently absorb the monarch's prerogative, as the greater body discharges the magnetism of the less. Such is the political condition of Prussia. The constitutional element is encroaching rapidly upon the monarch's prerogatives, who resists with vigor, yet not with bigoted obstinacy; the people enumerate their rights with a sustained and manly firmness, yet without violence. Neither party will precipitate the commission of the first outrage; so that if this temper is preserved, if the mon-

arch never makes a too tardy concession, and if the people never make a too greedy demand, we shall see the fair fabric of a constitution cemented without the blood and tears of its builders. Prussia profits by the experience of France, and imitates the healthy development of England; yet what an experiment of uninterrupted peril! Goethe has not underrated the problem, when he says, — "The highest intelligence of a government consists in so moderating this conflict as to throw itself into one position without the ruin of the opposite. But this is not in the gift of man, and does not appear to be in the intention of God."

We are not disposed to question the sagacity which has presided over the gradual introduction of Prussians to a participation in the government. The popular will has always been much in advance of the legislation designed to satisfy it, and the impatience of the selfish demagogue has more than once supplied a bureaucracy with arguments hostile to free government; yet the Prussian monarchs have always seemed to take for granted the distant concession of a constitution, and to have slowly educated the people to an equality with the privilege. In all the Prussian provinces, Chambers have been for some time constituted, with a limited power in matters of taxation, but continually kept in check by the preponderating influence of the nobles. Still, their establishment was a great concession, preparing the people for the final gift of a national chamber. We must remember that hereditary servitude was not abolished in Prussia till 1807, nor was the abolition extended over the later dependencies of the monarchy till 1819. But the gift of a free constitution was the subject of explicit promise as early as 1815. The suspicion cannot be discharged, that the delays which have intervened since then, if prompted by paternal caution, have been confirmed by eminently royal reasons. The Prussian ministers have generally been more democratic than the kings. Hardenberg's Memoir was sealed up by the father of the present monarch, and forbidden to be published till 1850; for the prime-minister had always been the firm adherent of those popular principles which are destined to detrude every remain of feudalism.

At the accession of the present king, in 1840, the popular hopes revived upon the constant nourishment afforded by the royal speeches to which we have alluded. In popular assemblies and before delegated magistracies, the king recall-

ed with enthusiasm the national traditions of the Liberation war, and the promises of 1815. And yet, the anticlimax was the prominent felicity of these harangues; if he commenced with a downright and hearty promise of a constitution, the idea conveyed would become beautifully less, till it emerged somewhat in this form, — "a constitution and a chamber; the former, indeed, grafted upon our old traditions, the latter not implying a general representation. All these developments must secure the interests of every estate, without compromising rashly those of any one." If this came to be understood in the sense of a preliminary measure, soon to usher in the full-blown constitution, a ministerial circular, issued shortly after, would gravely dictate the proper interpretation, with apostrophic wonder that any thing so clear should be misconceived. After one or two severe disappointments of this nature, borne with considerable phlegm, the constitutional party became aggressive, and a hundred pens began to grumble within the limits prescribed by censordom. Poets wrote epigrams and trenchant satire, but the authors soon became implicated with the *fugitive* character of their effusions. Several still languish in the retirement prescribed for this surfeit of patriotism. In Prussia, a good deal of radicalism will pass, if it is only said in quarto, with a grave, systematic, and deprecatory manner; but when the constitutional party begin to banter in pamphlets, and to charge their light boomerangs with irritating lampoons or testy verses, the royal tergiversator recalls the humor of his promises, but cannot take a fair jest in return.

In 1841, a decree was issued, the substance of which is as follows: — it authorized the publication of the provincial debates, but without the names of the speakers, — it allowed the Chambers to meet more frequently, — and, the most important concession of all, it established a national Diet, to be formed by a certain number of deputies from each provincial chamber, to sit at Berlin. But the functions of this Diet bear a ludicrous disproportion to its size and gravity; for it is only empowered to settle the clashing interests and propositions of the Chambers, and to be consulted by the king with respect to the general budget, but with the expectation that it shall be voted. This decree, when submitted to the provincial chambers, met with a lively opposition. They saw nothing in its propositions but a fantastic parody of their hopes, and many towns, through their magistracies, told the

king plainly that the decree did not satisfy the royal promises. The subject was debated for more than a year, with a vivacity unwonted in the annals of monarchy; but finally, all amendments having been rejected, the decree became the law of the land, by a royal ordinance, dated June 21, 1842. It is said that the king, being rather hard pressed by the unsparing critiques upon his decree, and surprised at the opposition, declared that the promise of his father in 1815 was not binding upon him; and thus vanish the harangues at Cologne and Königsberg. The extension of the area of freedom may be described in the following formula: — the people have the honor and liberty, through their representatives, of coinciding with the king.

"*Pet.* I say it is the moon.
Kath. I know it is the moon.
Pet. Nay, then you lie; it is the blessed sun.
Kath. Then, God be blessed, it is the blessed sun.—
But sun it is not, when you say it is not."

Nothing was wanting but this temporary suspension of the popular cause, to give the republican party a definite purpose and tangible dimensions. Till now it was ignorant of its own capacities, and feared to assume a decisive tone in speaking of its expectations, lest it might be unsupported either by the numbers or position of its adherents. But it suddenly finds itself a formidable influence, the third estate of the realm, recruited from all ranks, and composed of most discordant views and interests, yet harmonizing intelligibly enough upon the general question. Three parties are now struggling to obtain the mastery of the political field. First come the monarchists, part of whom are wise and part are foolish. The wise oppose the constitutional party, by tracing historically the quiet infusion of liberal ideas into the Prussian government, under the tutelage of its kings, who are said to have adapted the monarchical principle to the spirit of each age; the foolish monarchists write superannuated pamphlets about the divine right and the paternal capacity of the monarch. Occupying their antipodes is the radical party, who talk equally impracticable matter about the divine right of the individual and the great idea of absolute radicalism. It includes the communism of Weitling and Becker, who wish "to destroy every thing in order to reconstruct every thing upon new bases; manners, states and worships, languages, laws and na-

tionalities, — none of these should remain, for they are virtually barriers which separate people destined for universal unity." It also includes the politico-religious reveries of Bruno Bauer, who represents the American idea with a difference ; he holds the truth to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal, Jews being excepted. If we understand Bruno Bauer, he finds the existence of a God inconsistent with this doctrine of universal equality, and it is wonderful with what ease he can dispense with one.

Between these two extremes fluctuates the legitimate constitutional party, with limits still unsettled, and whose prominent writers do not always advocate the same scheme. Constitutionalism displays a penumbra, which is modified monarchism, held by those who dread lest the popular will should suddenly and entirely absorb the royal prerogative. But the real strength of the party resides, of course, with those who hold moderate but definite and earnest views, who desire to give to Germany nationality and unity, already rendered practicable by the establishment of the Customs-Union.* They support a rational reform in judicature, demanding "the publicity of tribunals, the independence of the judiciary, the liberty of defence." They argue for the practicability of a wider basis of representation, and for a constitution whose articles shall be something more than an expression, in less degrading terms, relieved only by a show of liberty, of the people's old dependence. This party will prevail ; but the acts and spirit of the Diet, which held its first sitting in April last, have caused many calm observers to doubt whether the revolution can be an altogether peaceful one. The members could not refuse to vote the general budget, but they denied the king a grant for a railroad. If such popular stratagems were unaccompanied by a feeling of embittered hostility toward the king, they might procure a gradual extension of privileges ; above all, the members might secure an act of general toleration, involving the civil equality of all dissents. Nor would it be long before a modified union of the State and Church would express the average liberality of the popular sentiment. The pure voluntary principle is not in vogue with the moderate party, though the

* The Zollverein extends over the whole of Germany, with the exception of the Austrian provinces, Hanover, the two Mecklenbergs, and the three free cities, Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck. It has already materially increased the commerce and activity of the associated countries.

precise relation which the State shall hold to the Church is not yet defined by them. They like the idea that parishes shall choose their own clergy ; also that the government shall appoint no fixed standard and patronize no special symbol ; the clergy shall be free to choose their faith. And Gervinus says, the State " should rather seek to find its uniting power in an ideal patriotic bond, than in a material ecclesiastical one ; it should leave the freest possible play-room to parishes and synods, which must undoubtedly be conducted according to the form proposed by the German Catholic Church. The State would have no other office than that of *moderating*."

But the royal patriotism has not been strong enough to prompt an adequate concession ; therefore the people chafe within their limits, and it is doubted whether the present irritation can be quietly reduced.* We notice that during the past year two or three questions of great interest have diverted the popular attention from the points at issue, and consequently from their religious results, which we have briefly designated. These distracting questions relate to the pretensions of Denmark to the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, and to Russian influence in Germany, but especially in the Duchy of Posen. The latter question involves a prominent interest. Germany has grown too liberal to relish the despotic temper of her ancient ally, who is no longer of any service to her ; and " Russomania " will retire before the increasing sentiment of nationality which inspires the prosperous middle class of Germany. The Polish proprietors of the soil in Posen are disposed to favor Russian interfer-

* But Mr. Wheaton, who is certainly an adequate observer, says, in his recent address upon " The Progress and Prospects of Germany," — " The powers granted to this assembly by the crown were consultative merely, except in the single case of a proposed augmentation of the taxes, or the public debt of the kingdom, in which case it was to have an absolute negative upon the royal propositions. The manner in which these powers were exercised in the discussions of the assembly is, upon the whole, highly favorable to the ultimate success of the experiment." Upon the whole it may be ; yet it is proper to notice the present irritation and its causes. In pursuing his subject, Mr. Wheaton says of the German governments : — " We must not be surprised, if they still hesitate and falter in their course, and if their counsels are still too often inspired by the blind dread of innovation, rather than by that confidence which the German people well merit by their integrity of purpose, moderation, and patient forbearance." Besides other things, Mr. Wheaton's pamphlet, which we have read with much pleasure, has the merit of showing the value of the Customs-Union as the basis of German unity, freedom, and progress.

ence, hoping thereby to preserve their authority over their boors, to whom Prussia would proffer independence. The spirit of caste among a few Polish nobles cannot, however, secure permanence to Russian influence in Germany. And soon we shall see the people return with new interest to the absorbing questions which involve their future welfare. The commercial bond which unites them has developed their slumbering energies, and has given them a taste of the genial freedom of an active life. Their new prosperity will increase both their importance and their capacity for self-help; this alone would secure an extension of their liberties in every sphere. But when the age is big with impulses which conspire with the master-spring of interest to renovate their exhausted and abstracted life, to turn their moods into deeds and their formulas into feelings, to temper their reveries with the sober alloy of practical concerns, we need not hesitate to predict a growth the most flourishing and healthy, and a many-sided expression of life which even the "myriad-minded" sons of Germany have been unable to enjoy. She is destined to annex the empire of the land to her hereditary empire of the air.

The connection of the constitutional with the religious question is now apparent. Material interest creates an activity which is not content with residing in the old body, and working feebly through organs whose development has been arrested. Spiritual interests are harassed and discountenanced by the identity of Church and State. Political and social impulses remain unsatisfied in a system which prevents them from springing to their appropriate level. The desire for life is the simple element which manifests itself in all these forms, and is heard by turns on the exchange, in the tribune, and from the pulpit. Had not the State, long ago, with a jealous wish to absorb all sources of interest and power, complicated all popular relations with its unitary system, then every movement of the present hour would not of necessity be organized from such various elements. And it is worthy of notice how entire and exhaustive are the evolutions of the German life; the progress usurps the whole surface and takes up every floating filament. Each movement is a complement of all the others, and the State is called upon to restore at once the sum total of its manifold embezzlements of the popular life, so long suffered with impunity.

What Germany needs, to dissipate her vapors, to consoli-

date her thought and direct it to its sensible issues, is simply this, — something *for the individual* to do. When *work*, in all the provinces of human activity, has been apportioned to the German citizen, and he feels the sense of clearness and elastic independence which interest in work secures, — when *doing* becomes the copula of the subjective and the objective, — when the old Teuton vigor drives the modern Pegasus afield, and the share dislodges the tangled undergrowth, — when the German appends the *improvement* to his long homily of philosophy, — then will be vindicated the honest and hopeful old proverb used by Goethe, — "What man wishes in youth he has to fulness in old age." J. W–S.

ART. VII. — TORREY'S TRANSLATION OF NEANDER.*

A NEW translation of Neander's "History of the Christian Religion and Church" has appeared, by Professor Torrey of Burlington. The translator has long been engaged on the work, but was anticipated in publication by Mr. Rose, of whose volumes some notice has been taken in former numbers of this journal.† The obscurities and deficiencies of the latter translation have induced Professor Torrey not to withhold his own; and although the present volume extends only over the same ground covered by Mr. Rose, a continuation is soon to appear, and is delayed only that it may be revised by comparison with the second edition recently published in Germany.

This translation is remarkably faithful and accurate. The translator, having a profound respect for his author, makes it a point always to convey his meaning exactly, even to the minutest expression. This is certainly a great virtue. It has caused him, however, to retain the unwieldiness of Neander's style, and has given some obscurity and diffuseness to

---

* *General History of the Christian Religion and Church: from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the Second and Improved Edition.* By JOSEPH TORREY, Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy in the University of Vermont. Volume First: comprising the First Great Division of the History. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 740.

† Christian Examiner for March, 1832, for January, 1844, and September, 1845.

the book, which will make it less attractive and readable. We do not know how this could have been well avoided. If a translator were at liberty to curtail, to simplify, and to comment, a book might be made much more lucid and interesting; but such freedom is questionable, and Professor Torrey, it seems, though well qualified to exercise it with discretion, was not willing to assume the responsibility. We regret to find how much is necessarily lost in clearness and fluency, by transferring the thoughts of the writer into a language where they are not native, and where philosophy and theology have moved in a different direction. In every translation there are errors resulting from oversight or misconception. But in Professor Torrey's we have noticed but few, and they are not of much importance.

We offer our readers some extracts, which will serve both as specimens of the translation, and as examples of the manner and tone of the original History.

First, from the history of the persecutions: —

"It was certainly the design of the emperor [Decius Trajan] *to suppress Christianity entirely.* In the year 250, he ordered rigorous search to be made for all suspected of refusing compliance with the national worship, and the Christians were to be required to conform to the ceremonies of the Roman religion. In case they declined, threats, and afterwards tortures, were to be employed to compel submission. If they remained firm, it was resolved to inflict, particularly on the bishops, whom the emperor hated most bitterly, the punishment of death. There was a disposition, however, to try first the effect of commands, threats, persuasions, and the milder forms of chastisement. By degrees, recourse was had to more violent measures; and gradually the persecution extended from the capital of the empire — where the presence of an emperor known to be hostile to the Christians made it the most severe at the beginning — into the provinces. Wherever the imperial edict was carried into execution, the first step was publicly to appoint a day against which all the Christians of a place were to present themselves before the magistrate, renounce their religion, and offer at the altar. In the case of those who before the end of the time fled their country, nothing further was done; except that their goods were confiscated, and themselves forbidden to return under penalty of death. But if they were unwilling to make so immediate a sacrifice of their earthly goods for the heavenly treasure, if they waited in the expectation that some expedient might perhaps yet be found whereby both could be retained, then, unless they had volun-

tarily presented themselves by the day appointed, the examination was commenced before the magistrate, assisted by five of the principal citizens. After repeated tortures, those who remained firm were cast into prison, where the additional sufferings of hunger and thirst were employed to overcome their resolution. The extreme penalty of death appears to have been resorted to less frequently." — p. 131.

It was, according to Neander, in the year 259 that the Christian Church was recognized as a legally existing corporation.

"By the law of Gallienus an essential change, prolific of consequences, would necessarily be produced in the situation of the Christians. The important step, at which many an emperor, still more favorably disposed to Christianity than Gallienus, had hesitated, was now taken. Christianity was become a *religio licita;* and the religious party that threatened destruction to the old state religion, and all the institutions connected with it, had now for once attained a legal existence. Many a prince, who at an earlier period, in accordance with the existing laws, would have had no scruples in persecuting the Christians, would now doubtless be shy of attacking a corporation once established by law." — p. 141.

The outward history of the Church is graphically given, and elucidated with a learning to which we are not accustomed in the expositions of this subject. But it is when treating of its interior development that the writer finds himself most at home. Of its earliest constitution he thus remarks: —

"The essence of the Christian community rested on this: that no one individual should be the chosen, preëminent organ of the Holy Spirit for the guidance of the whole; but all were to coöperate — each at his particular position, and with the gifts bestowed on him, one supplying what might be wanted by another — for the advancement of the Christian life and of the common end. In this view of it, the New Testament idea of the *charisma* becomes important; the charisma, by which is designated the individuality and diversity in the operations of the Spirit that quickens all, as contradistinguished from that which in all is the same; the *peculiar* kind and manner or form of the activity of that common principle, so far as it is conditioned by the peculiar natural characteristics of each individual. Just as the unity of that higher Spirit must reveal itself in the manifoldness of the charismata, so must all these peculiarities, quickened by the same Spirit, serve as organs, mutually helping each other for one common end,

the edification of the Church. We understand edification here, according to the general and original sense of the term in the writings of St. Paul, as referring to the advancement and development, from its common ground, of the entire life of the Church-community. The edification of the Church, in this sense, was the common work of all. Even edification by the word was not assigned exclusively to one individual; but every man who felt the inward call to it might give utterance to the word in the assembled Church. Referring to the same end, there were likewise different gifts, grounded in the diversity of peculiar natures, quickened by the Holy Spirit; according as, for example, the productive (prophecy), or the receptive (interpretation, the *διερμηνεία*), or the critical faculty (proving of spirits), — according as the capacity for feeling and intuition, or that of sober reflective thought, predominated; according as the Divine, in its overwhelming force, had the preponderance, and the Human, in its independent development, gave place to it, or a harmonious coöperation of both the Divine and the Human prevailed; according as the momentaneous and sudden seizure of inspiration had the ascendency, or what was contained in the Christian consciousness became unfolded through a process of thought quickened by the Holy Spirit (where again there were manifold gradations, from an ecstatic elevation of mind down to the uniform, discreet, and cautious unfolding of the understanding, speaking with tongues, prophecy, the ordinary gift of teaching); in fine, according as the prevailing tendency was to the theoretical or to the practical (the *Gnosis* or the *Sophia*)." — p. 181.

In describing the heretical tendencies of sects, Neander makes two great divisions, according as they received the impress of the Jewish or of the Grecian mind.

"The first of these spiritual tendencies cleaves to the temporal, earthly form of manifestation alone, without divining the higher spirit which it embodies and conceals; the other disdains that temporal form of manifestation, which is the necessary medium for the appropriation of the spirit, and would have the spirit without this medium. The one sticks fast by the letter, beyond which it cannot penetrate to the revelation of the spirit; the other believes itself competent to grasp the spirit without the letter. The one perceives nothing in Christ but the Son of man; the other, nothing but the Son of God; — and so the one would have only the human element in Christianity, without the divine; the other, only the divine, without the human. The last antithesis is of the utmost importance, on account of its bearing on the essence of Christian morality. For as this presupposes the oneness of the Son of God and the Son of man in Christ, so the re-

finement of the entire man, as a form for the manifestation of the divine life, is its principle, flowing directly from this presupposition." — p. 340.

In the last sentence we see something of the author's mysticism. He regards the union of the Divine with the human in Jesus as the ground of a new morality, inasmuch as by that every thing human, not only in Jesus, but in all who share his life, is transfigured (*verklärt*) and appears in its new light as "a form of manifestation of the life of God." We would not quarrel with a mysticism of this kind, but rather accept it and endeavour to appropriate it. We must be reconciled in Neander to some dimness of horizon. We shall not find in him that clear dialectic sharpness which we observe, for instance, in Schleiermacher, the theologian of the preceding generation; but we have in its place the greatest practical earnestness and soberness, which are certainly not less valuable. In giving an account of opinions, he seems to us to have great discrimination, as well as almost unequalled learning. Marcion is evidently a favorite with Neander, and his account of Marcion's opinions is unusually rich and instructive. We quote from it the following paragraphs: —

"The opposition between πίστις and γνῶσις, between an exoteric and an esoteric Christianity, was among the marked peculiarities of the other Gnostic systems; but in Marcion's case, on the contrary, who adhered so closely to the practical Apostle Paul, no such opposition could possibly be allowed to exist. To the merely outward and more truly Jewish than Christian notion of πίστις, which had found admission into the Christian Church, he opposed, not a self-conceited Gnosis, but the conception of πίστις itself, apprehended according to the genuine sense of St. Paul. In his view, πίστις was the common fountain of the divine life for all Christians. He knew of nothing higher than the *illumination which every* Christian ought to possess. What he recognized as genuine Christianity ought to be recognized as such by all capable of receiving Christianity in any sense. He could make no other distinction than that between the riper Christians and those that needed still to be instructed in Christian principles (the catechumens).

"In a twofold respect, Marcion's appearance is a fact of great significance in the history of the world. In the first place, he stands a living witness of the impression which Christianity, as something wholly new and supernaturally divine, produced on men of strong and lively feelings. We see how Christianity ap-

peared to such a person, looking at it from the point of view which had been reached by his age, and in its relation to all that had proceeded forth out of the previous development of mankind. It is a fact which here speaks to us. Next the great significance of Marcion's appearance consists in this: that we perceive in him the first symptoms of a reaction necessary in the course of the historical evolution, — a reaction of the Pauline type of doctrine, reclaiming its rightful authority, against the strong leaning of the Church to the side of James and Peter, — a reaction of the Christian consciousness, reasserting the independence acquired for it by the labors of Paul, against a new combination of Jewish and Christian elements, — a reaction of the protestant spirit against the catholic element now swelling in the bud. At its first appearance, this reaction might easily be led wrong, and tend too exclusively, again, to the other side of the truth. It was needful that various *momenta* should be evolved, before the reaction could be a pure one, clear in itself, and therefore certain of the victory. As Marcion gives us the picture of Paul, not in all the harmonious *many-sidedness* of his great spirit, but only in a single aspect of it, we consequently find in Marcion himself the impetuous ardor, but not the calm, reflective prudence, — the practical, but not the dialectic spirit of Paul, — we find in him the acuteness and perspicacity of the Apostle in discerning and setting forth opposites, but not the conciliating wisdom for which the Apostle was no less distinguished." — pp. 460, 461.

"The consciousness of redemption formed the ground-tone of his religious life, — the fact of redemption he regarded as the central point of Christianity. But as it is only through numberless stages of transition and intermediate points that every thing can ultimately be referred to this as the central point, — as the whole development of the world in history and nature were in this to be brought into a comprehending unity, — the impatient Marcion, who was averse to all gradual measures and intermediate steps, who was for having every thing alike complete and at once, could not so understand it." — p. 462.

How far Neander is from a bigoted devotion to anti-rationalism will appear from the following passage.

"The two main tendencies of the theological spirit here denoted correspond to the two tendencies which necessarily belong together in the Christian process of transforming the world, — but of which either one or the other is ever wont to predominate; — the world-resisting and the world-appropriating tendency of the Christian mind. The undue predominance of either one of these is, in truth, attended with its own peculiar dangers. In connection with this stands another antithesis. Christianity is

based upon a supernatural revelation; but this revelation would be appropriated and understood by the organ of a reason which submits to it; since it is not destined to remain a barely outward thing to the human spirit. The supernatural element must be owned in its organic connection with the natural, which in this finds its full measure and complement. The fact of redemption has for its very aim, indeed, to do away the schism between the supernatural and the natural; — the fact of God's becoming man is in order to the humanization of the divine, and the deification of the human. Hence there will ever be springing up two tendencies of the theological spirit, corresponding, as must be evident, to the two just now described, and of which the one will feel itself impelled to understand and represent the supernatural element of Christianity, in its opposition to the other, the same element in its connection with the natural: the one will seek to apprehend the supernatural and suprarational element as *such;* the other will strive to apprehend the same in its harmony with reason and nature, — to present the supernatural and suprarational to consciousness, as that which is still conformed to nature and to reason. Thus there comes to be formed a predominance of the *supernaturalist* or of the *rationalist* element, both of which should meet together in order to a sound and healthy development of Christian doctrine; while from the predominance of the one or the other of these elements, opposite dangers arise." — pp. 507, 508.

Equally far is he from being blinded, by any Orthodox theories, to the distinction between philosophical conclusions and practical doctrines. And in that freedom he says of the subject so interesting to us, the doctrine of the Trinity: —

"This doctrine does not strictly belong to the fundamental articles of the Christian faith; as appears sufficiently evident from the fact, that it is expressly held forth in no one particular passage of the New Testament; — for the only one in which this is done, the passage relating to the three that bear record (1 John v. 7), is undoubtedly spurious, and in its ungenuine shape testifies to the fact, how foreign such a collocation is from the style of the New-Testament scriptures. We find in the New Testament no other fundamental article besides that of which the Apostle Paul says, that other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, the annunciation of Jesus as the Messiah; and Christ himself designates as the foundation of his religion the faith in the only true God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent (John xvii. 3). What Paul styles distinctively the mystery relates in no one instance to what belongs to the hidden depths of the divine essence, but to the divine purpose of salvation which found its

accomplishment in a fact. But that doctrine presupposes, in order to its being understood in its real significancy for the Christian consciousness, this fundamental article of the Christian faith; and we recognize therein the essential contents of Christianity, summed up in brief, as may be gathered from the determinate form which is given to Theism by its connection with this fundamental article. It is this doctrine by which God becomes known as the original Fountain of all existence; as He by whom the rational creation, that had become estranged from him, is brought back to the fellowship with him; and as He in the fellowship with whom it from thenceforth subsists: — the threefold relation in which God stands to mankind, as primal ground, mediator, and end, — Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, — in which threefold relation the whole Christian knowledge of God is completely announced. Accordingly all is herein embraced by the Apostle Paul, when he names the one God and Father of all, who is above all, and works through all and in all (Ephes. iv. 6); or Him from whom are all things, through whom are all things, and to whom are all things; — when, in pronouncing the benediction, he sums up all in the formula: the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit. God, as the living God, the God of mankind, and the God of the Church, can be truly known in this way only. This shape of Theism presents the perfect mean between the wholly extramundane God of Deism, and the God brought down to, and confounded with, the world of Pantheism. As this mode of the knowledge of God belongs to the peculiar essence of Theism and the Theocracy, it follows that *its* groundwork must be given with the groundwork of the latter in the Old Testament, — the doctrine of God, whose agency is in the world through his Word and with his Spirit: and hence it was no accident, to be explained by the supervention of outward influences merely, that such a shaping of the consciousness of God grew out of the germs already contained in the Old Testament; — a truth which has not been duly attended to by those who, in their account of the progressive development of doctrines, have been inclined to explain too many things by a reference to outward causes.

"We must take care not to be deceived by false analogies, in comparing this doctrine with apparently kindred dogmas of other religions, or with mere speculative theories. Its connection, already pointed out, with the fundamental consciousness of Christianity, must furnish, in this case, the right standard of comparison. Aside from this, the threefold designation of the Supreme Essence, or the hypothesis of a threefold gradation in the principles of existence, can furnish only a delusive analogy, where

perhaps there may be lying at bottom some theory most directly opposed to the Christian view of the world; — as the case is, indeed, with regard to the Indian Trimurti, which stands connected with a thoroughly pantheistic scheme, wholly at war with the theistic and theological principle of Christianity, — the doctrine, namely, of a divine essence which manifests itself in a constant repetition of the same process of rising and vanishing worlds. And even within the Christian Church itself, systems, consisting of a pantheistic deification of reason and of the world, have employed this doctrine, wrested from its original connection, and made to bear a sense at variance with its true import, for the purpose of giving currency to some scheme under a Christian garb, which in essence was wholly opposed to Christianity." — pp. 572, 573.

Of the "economico-practical doctrine of the Trinity" he thus speaks: —

"It is that which forms the basis of the true unity of the Church and the identity of the Christian consciousness in all ages. But the intellectual process of development, by means of which the economico-practical doctrine of the Trinity was reduced to the ontological, was a gradual one, and must necessarily run through manifold opposite forms, until it issued at last in some mode of apprehension, satisfying the demand of unity in the Christian consciousness, and in the activity of the dialectic reason." — pp. 573, 574.

Neander's History is generally regarded as one of the most important products of the theological literature in which our times have been so fertile; and we think that Professor Torrey has rendered a substantial service to the Church in the work of this translation. G. F. S.

Art. VIII. — BUSHNELL ON CHRISTIAN NURTURE.*

Dr. Bushnell's work which furnishes the topic of the present article consists of two Discourses first preached, we

* 1. *Discourses on Christian Nurture.* By Horace Bushnell, Pastor of the North Church, Hartford. Boston: Mass. Sabbath School Society. 1847. pp. 72.

2. *An Argument for "Discourses on Christian Nurture," addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society.* By Horace Bushnell. Hartford. 1847. 8vo. pp. 48.

suppose, in the ordinary course of the author's ministry. But, for several reasons, we desire especially to commend it to the notice of our readers. It discusses an important subject; and the argument is conducted in a spirit so rational and free, so truly Christian, that it must command the admiration of those who may dissent from its conclusions. Indeed, were its views generally adopted, they would revolutionize the life of the Christian world. The Discourses come to us under the sanction of unusual authority. Dr. Bushnell's name has a commanding claim to attention. He is one of the prominent preachers of New England, distinguished for profound thought and a glowing eloquence. Further, a brief advertisement to the book informs us that the argument was read to an association of ministers, who requested its publication. We also learn, from the title-page, that it was approved by the Committee of Publication of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, and printed at their depository. Greater importance, of course, is to be attached to opinions which seem to have secured the sanction of such various minds. We propose, first, to notice the peculiar harmony between the views presented by Dr. Bushnell and those which we have been accustomed to cherish, and, next, to offer a few remarks upon the main topic of the work itself.

A sketch of the general argument of the volume will be the best introduction, perhaps, to what we wish to say. The question which Dr. Bushnell proposes to answer is, — What is the true idea of Christian education? And he replies, in general, in the following proposition: — "That the child is to grow up a Christian. In other words, the aim, effort, and expectation should be, not, as is commonly assumed, that the child is to grow up in sin, to be converted after he comes to a mature age, but that he is to open on the world as one that is spiritually renewed, not remembering the time when he went through a technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from his earliest years." He sustains this proposition by various arguments. He meets the objection from experience by the obvious answer, that we do not make a Christian atmosphere around us, in our homes, and in the Church. He contends that his doctrine involves no absurdity, "for all that is implied to be in a Christian state" is, that "one has simply begun to love what is good for its own sake"; that "it is

implied in all religious philosophy, if a child ever loves any thing because it is good and right, that it [the fact] involves the dawn of a new life"; and that this feeling of love may be awakened in the mind of a child to commence the combat with evil there, as well as in the man. He affirms that, upon any theory of the corruption of human nature, the best time, certainly, to apply the remedy, is in "the most ductile period of life." He tells us, that this view, instead of being new, has long been held in the European churches; that the Moravians especially, whose piety is so fervent and sweet, "make it a radical distinction in their system, so that not one in ten of their number recollects the time when he began to be religious." And, lastly, under this branch of the discussion, by a strong statement of the organic relation between the parent and the child, he shows it to be the intention, that "the Christian life and spirit of the parent shall flow into the minds of the children, to blend with their incipient and half-formed exercises."

The second Discourse is occupied with the inquiry, How far revelation favors such views. It is not necessary to give any statement of this part of the argument. It is sufficient to say, that Dr. Bushnell insists that the Scriptures sustain every thing which he had previously advanced upon the subject. We should like to transfer to our pages extended extracts. We should especially like to give two passages towards the close of the book; one, in which the author shows how religion is made odious, at times, by insisting upon the inherent *necessary* opposition between every thing in the child's feeling and the spirit of religion, until a new heart shall have been given him; and the other, in which he attempts to prove that this view of Christian nurture presents the only remedy for the deficiencies in the religious life of the time, leading men to seek, not a piety of conquest, of revivals simply, but a piety of growth, deep, constant, inextinguishable, like the affections of home. The passages referred to would exhibit his view more completely than any outline we can give. They would furnish a specimen, also, of that calm, simple, yet energetic and sometimes eloquent style, which characterizes the Discourses. But we prefer to commend the entire work to our readers, as well deserving a careful perusal.

We have been surprised at the harmony between the opinions of Dr. Bushnell and our own. Often it is an

identity of thought, rather than harmony. Here is a book upon Christian nurture by an eminent divine in the Orthodox Church, in which the discussion incidentally relates to many theological opinions, and two great doctrines of that Church — human depravity and regeneration — are directly involved at every step. It is easy to see, of course, to what school of theology the author belongs, by occasional expressions in his pages. At first, some of these expressions perplexed us. But our difficulties vanished when we gained an apprehension of his whole view. Slight criticisms we might easily make, yet we do not know that we have any distinct objection to offer to any one of Dr. Bushnell's main positions. They state our own faith, expounded from another point of view, and presented in a different, though sometimes very slightly different, dress.

Dr. Bushnell affirms that he believes, and that the Scriptures teach, the doctrine of human depravity; yet he makes haste also to say, that, if the Scriptures did not assert it, "the familiar laws of physiology would require us to believe what amounts to the same thing." For "it is not sin which the child derives from his parents, but only some prejudice to the perfect harmony of his mould, some kind of pravity or obliquity which inclines him to evil." Now if this be the statement of the doctrine, we scarcely know who ventures to deny it. At least, we do not. All men must admit what physiological laws establish. No opponent of the ancient doctrine can ask to have it arraigned before a better tribunal; and it shows the freedom and the philosophical character of Dr. Bushnell's mind, that he is found to refer such a theological opinion, in some sense at least, to the test of scientific investigation. We affirm such a doctrine of depravity as earnestly as the author himself. It declares one of the fixed laws of the universe. It was uttered amidst the dread revelations of Sinai. It is symbolized in those fearful tendencies to physical disease which sometimes descend through many generations. It is seen in the mental and moral peculiarities belonging to family and race. Its perfect explanation, perhaps, we may not find, but the fact is clear. We can only say that it garners up every element of good, also, and transmits it, as an increasing inheritance, to successive ages. And it presents an appeal, more affecting than almost any other, to the heart of each generation, not to send down a curse to darken the being of the children of its

love, and to be as a blight in the world through long ages to come.

Again, Dr. Bushnell strenuously asserts the doctrine of regeneration. His view of that doctrine has been already indicated. His idea in substance is, to use his own words, that "the child must not only be touched with some gentle emotions towards what is right, of which the worst minds are more or less capable, but he must love it with a fixed love, love it for the sake of its principle, receive it as a vital and formative power." We could not express our own view more accurately than in this language. And no part of the statement pleases us more than the distinction which is made between those natural impulses to good which belong to human nature, and that free devotion to truth for its own sake, which is the very essence of the Christian life. These natural impulses are as a troop of angels abiding in the heart, ready to welcome the Lord into its secret chambers whenever he appears. But only when they become fixed and controlling affections, as the result of some sudden experience or of a gradual progress, is the life of regeneration verily begun. We see no shade of difference between Dr. Bushnell's doctrine and our own. And we say also with him, that the soul does not grow up into this fixed devotion to truth by the mere unfolding of its life, as the seed becomes a tree. Man may not remember when the process began; but, consciously or unconsciously, it must be "a free exercise," the determined choice of the heart. "Except a man be" thus "born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God."

We rejoice in these signs of a growing harmony of thought between men of different sects and ourselves, wherever they appear. In this respect, Dr. Bushnell's book does not stand alone. We continually meet modified statements of popular doctrines, which leave them at only a slight remove from our own thought. But we hail these results with no sectarian joy. We rejoice, because they promise to obliterate sectarian divisions. They confirm one of our long-cherished hopes, which soars far above party triumphs. We have long believed, that, if the tumult of our theological battles could be hushed, and men be left to pursue their inquiries with unbiased feelings, we should find, in all thinking minds, a wonderful, an unsuspected, an ever-growing harmony. Dr. Bushnell's volume, and all similar indications, more than

confirm our hope. We do not assume that this book represents the general opinion, or any prevailing opinion, in the Orthodox Church. While we are writing, we learn that it has been suppressed by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society. It only confirms what we supposed before, that such views are an exception to the general faith. Still, they are adopted and preached. They have found a tongue. Their suppression will be their surest publication. It is strange that men have not yet learned that the word can never be silenced, which has once been spoken, ay, even whispered, in any ear. These modifications of opinion will go on and accomplish their work. We are not assuming, indeed, in noticing such approximations to harmony of thought, that these changes of opinion have occurred only in the views of others. Far from it. Doubtless, our own views may have been also changed. As soon as our warfare partially ceased, we turned from the peculiarities of sectarian thought to dwell in the universal truth; and thus, while we imagined ourselves separated as widely as ever, insensibly the causes of division were diminished every day.

A most attractive view is here presented. Some men trust in religious controversy to beat down the division-walls of sects, and to promote the progress of truth. We share very little in any such hopes. It was a remark of Dr. Channing, when asked "why he did not defend his views against the attacks which were made upon them," that "he feared to have his mind linger around his own writings." It was a remark full of wisdom. It indicates one inevitable danger attending all religious controversy; a danger from which few men have been great enough to escape. In such controversy we linger too fondly around our own views. We become advocates, instead of simple and lowly seekers after truth. We intrench ourselves in some narrow position of our own, to defend it rather than to reëxamine it, instead of passing on to new inquiries in the broad universe of truth. The true freedom of the mind is disturbed by any such bias in our thought. All human experience attests this danger. Not while the contest has raged, but after it has ceased, the world has made the most rapid advances. Always, when the strife has been over, and the prejudice it has caused vanished, the extreme opinions on either side, the very watchwords of the battle, perhaps, have been forgotten; and the pure truth in the views of both has remained in the mind of the world.

We welcome Dr. Bushnell's book, because it shows us that he has not pursued his inquiries as a controversialist. He has not read theology through the medium of a creed. He seems to have attempted to open all the volumes of God's revelations, — nature, Scripture, the human soul, — with a free spirit. If we could throw away our creeds, written and unwritten, — for both may be almost equally enslaving, — and pursue our investigations in a similar way, we should attain many beautiful results. When we wish to enter the temple of truth in our inquiries, we must cease to be partisans or advocates. We must forget other men's opinions. We must not "linger around" our own. We are to listen only to the oracles speaking there. We know that many think otherwise. But nothing would delight us more than to see Unitarian and Orthodox believers abandoning their mutual attacks and defences, and giving themselves singly to this positive unfolding of holy truth. Each of these bodies of believers would then do a blessed work for the other. Each, we think, has truth which the other needs. The interests of sects might seem to suffer by such a process; truth could not suffer. Let us forget our controversies. We have all been driven too much into extreme positions. Let us bow down together in one and the same prayer for light. No true union, no illumination of the Redeemer's Church, will greet us, until we assume this position. No schemes of alliance can make us one. The real unity results from the continual flowing together of the streams of thought and feeling, when we look only to Christ and his cross, and find the same spirit descending upon all hearts in an increasing power. Then shall we be one, because Jesus is in us and we are all in him.

Our limits admonish us to leave these topics and pass to a brief notice of the chief theme of Dr. Bushnell's Discourses. And here we can neither enter into an extended consideration of the author's theory of Christian nurture, nor venture to present one of our own. We call attention rather to two great principles, two vital principles, as we regard them, which are distinctly recognized in these Discourses. Indeed, if fully unfolded, we think they would suggest the true theory of all Christian nurture. The first, and we apprehend the fundamental, principle in religious education is this, — that all true culture begins with the development of the heart. We give Dr. Bushnell's statement of this position.

"First of all, parents should rather seek to teach a feeling than a doctrine, to bathe the child in their own feeling of love to God, and dependence on him, and contrition for wrong before him, bearing up the child's heart in their own, not fearing to encourage every good motion they can call into exercise; to make what is good happy and attractive, what is wrong odious and hateful. Then, as the understanding advances, give it food suited to its capacity, opening upon it, gradually, the more difficult views of Christian doctrine and experience."

We do not wish to cite this passage for any unfair use. We are not quite certain that Dr. Bushnell means to say all that we should like to affirm. Something of the old idea seems to us to be embodied in his Discourses, — namely, that speculative truths, doctrines, must be given to the intellect in order to awaken the heart. We object to any admission of that idea. We believe, that, at the beginning, and at every step of true religious culture, the life of the heart is to precede the unfolding of truths to the understanding. The doctrine may be a means of quickening a life which has already begun. But first life, and then doctrine, is the legitimate, the divine order.

The natural development of the soul seems to teach us this. The first movements of its life are the wakings of its affection. The child is bathed in an atmosphere of love as it enters upon its present being, and the kiss of maternal tenderness is the first quickening influence which greets its undeveloped nature, like the breathing of God by which man becomes a living soul. The first smile of intelligence is a ray of love beaming over the infant features. The first thought is more a feeling than a thought. What is it but a response of the heart of the child to the deep call of the heart which is yearning over it, in its unfathomable tenderness? The heart is the first part of our being that lives. And, as its life is unfolded, as varied and almost numberless tones of feeling are called forth, by the varied influences sweeping across its thousand strings, new and grander thoughts are born into the understanding, in quick succession. When we observe this natural unfolding of the life, when we remember that the child is placed amidst an all-embracing influence, which makes it a moral necessity for its affections to be first unfolded, we wonder how we could have ever forgotten a truth so clear. How divinely is the way opened to the true love of God, by the leadings

of nature, through this spontaneous affection to the parent! The central, informing spirit, the life of true religion, may begin to glow in the breast of the child, — a loving, obedient, all-trusting affection, — long before its understanding can grasp one of those views which are often called essential doctrines. And when feeling deepens, and a power is gained to comprehend something of its life, then those glorious thoughts of the Father and his love, all worthy conceptions of filial duty, the deep things of Christian experience, even that spirit which spoke in the life of the Redeemer, appear in grand revelations to the soul. The voice of God teaches us, in the divine processes of nature, that the heart is first to be wakened into life.

The same view is enforced anew, when we consider what those great principles in religion are, which are worthy to bear the name of doctrine. The word has been almost entirely perverted from its legitimate use. It has been mainly applied to the multitude of metaphysical speculations connected with religious truths. These can never be learned by the process we are advocating. Let them go. They are tares in the field, so intertwined with living truths, perhaps, that they cannot be plucked out as yet without rooting up the wheat also. But we trust that the day of their burning will speedily come. True Christian doctrines, we suppose, are really the statements of the great processes and results of true religious life. They are the divine conclusions taught by the experience of a divine spirit, such as lived in the breast of Jesus ; the burning thoughts of God and man, of truth and love, of life and immortality, blazing up for ever in the soul when it has been baptized with the holy ghost and with fire. They are the enrapturing, the overwhelming truths unfolded in the vision of God which cometh to the pure in heart. Here we know not how to speak. We can only say they are all those conceptions which come by a divine necessity, as the soul enters into harmony with the life of the Father, and, in some true sense of the word, is moved by the indwelling spirit of God. Such truths are doctrines, — truths of the living heart. The truth is an inference from the life at every step. Reproduce the experience, or you can never impart the thought. Ascend the mountain-heights of a diviner life, or you can never see the heavenly prospects opening around you there. The beloved Apostle declares the process whereby all true theol-

ogy is to be learned, when he says, "God is love; and he that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God." The wisdom of truth is found in the deep things of the spirit of love.

But may there not be some direct instruction in doctrine, in Christian education? — many may ask. Certainly, there must be. These remarks directly indicate the true method of all such instruction. Let these great conclusions be drawn out from the soul's experience in distinct statements to the understanding, as rapidly as that experience unfolds them. Let the same principle be here applied, which must be obeyed in all intelligent instruction. It is in the nature of the mind, for instance, to deduce the great laws of the natural world from its observation of the facts of nature. And the truths thus learned are its guides in its future inquiries. Let the laws of the spiritual world be thus deduced, as the heart lives. Nothing can more truly quicken or give intensity to the life of the heart, perhaps, than such an embodiment of the life already gained into a burning thought, a divine law, to be held up before the understanding, and thus to pour down its light into every faculty of the soul. There is a beautiful action and reaction here in the development of our being. Thus may man be led into the deeper things in the spirit of Jesus. The first movements of pure life in the heart lead us to see the truth of some teaching from his lips. Then meditation upon that truth, that doctrine, deepens the feeling; and the deeper feeling gives new meaning to the doctrine; and that again has a more commanding power over the heart; and each new gush of life, like the deepened love of Jesus in his last hour of communion with the Twelve, makes the old commandment seem a new revelation of almighty truth; and the soul is borne upward by this twofold influence, with accelerating speed, towards the bosom of its God. Is there to be no instruction in doctrinal truths, do any ask again? If we mean by doctrinal truths what the world has most frequently understood by that expression, we can only pray that they may be quickly forgotten. Neither let there be any instruction in really Christian doctrines, which shall outrun the capacity of the soul, through the openings of its experience, to begin to grasp their purport. But let instruction never fail, according to the process we have indicated; systematic, living teaching, drawn forth from the wells of life in the soul. Through such teaching, whether given to the child or the man, new life shall for ever come.

An answer to the chief objection to views like these is here suggested, which we cannot forbear to notice. It is the power of great doctrines, we are continually told, which has accomplished the noblest revolutions in the thought and in the action of men. Some quickening truth has come down, like fire from heaven, into the mind of the world, consuming its corruptions, and creating it anew. Let us look more deeply, and we find a confirmation of our theory in these same great facts. By what law are these quickening truths revealed? When do they come, to kindle a new life in the heart of the world? They come when its previous development has prepared it to begin to see any truth so great. For long centuries men have stood within a single step of the noblest truths of science. Not until a preparation of mind was gained to take that single step, did the discovery appear. So it is with great moral truths. There must be a preparation, a progress in the world's life, before these creative truths will unfold themselves to the single mind or to the community. And instantly, when they appear, are they to be published abroad, to carry onward that great revolution which has already given them birth. These doctrines, which seem to do the work, are only the grand conclusions to which experience has led. The fulness of time must thus for ever come, before the Redeemer shall be born. The life precedes the doctrine; and we repeat Dr. Bushnell's statement of a principle so vital, in deep joy that it has found another expression, in his Discourses, to the ear of the world.

The second principle to which we wished to refer is rather implied than distinctly expressed in the Discourses. It is the principle, that there is no necessary, inherent opposition between religious truth and the mind of the child; that we may unfold this truth with an absolute faith in the capacity of the soul to receive its influence. All this is inevitably implied, indeed, in the general proposition, "that the child is to grow up a Christian, not remembering the time when he went through any technical experience, but seeming rather to have loved what is good from its earliest years." There may be depravity, according to Dr. Bushnell's statement of that doctrine. These tendencies to perverse desires may become "a fixed prejudice" against the truth in many hearts. One may also say, as our author affirms, that there must be a direct influence of the spirit of God to breathe the

divine life into every human soul, if it be said, at the same time, that the first unfolding of truth to the soul *is* this breathing of the spirit. After all, the proposition amounts to this, that religious truth is the natural food of the unperverted mind; for if the child may be trained from the first in the love of God, never conscious of any warfare, according to Dr. Bushnell's statement, all this impression of any inherent opposition to the truth must be altogether baseless.

We deduce the principle, however, from the views which we have already advanced. The doctrines of religion are the truths unfolded in the development of the soul. They are the laws of its life. Instead of being against its nature, they alone give us a revelation of its deeper nature. They bring its life to light. No view of religion, indeed, is more beautiful, or more awful, than this. Here is unfolded the profound significance of that doctrine of Jesus, where he calls his word "the bread of life." These great religious affections, this pure love of God, this divine love of man, are all as natural as the gushing sympathies of home. Instead of being a forced product of the life, they are its fairest flower. In reality, they are the pure results for which all deep earthly sympathies are designed as a preparation. These streams are made to flow, that they may bear us on to this boundless ocean of the love of God. Here, too, is the dread view of religion to alarm those whom nothing besides may move. These laws of the soul never change, nor cease their action when we violate their commandment. Like the outraged laws of physical nature, they visit the transgression with a retribution that is fatally sure. The word which Jesus speaks must judge unbelievers at the last day. The most appalling and the most enrapturing views of religion are here. And here is the immovable foundation of a true confidence in all endeavours to unfold the principles of true religious life to the world. How sure that confidence, even when they are presented to the sinning heart! You speak the deepest laws of its being, which no prodigal perversity can for ever obscure. Let no man fear to unfold them to the depravity which seems the darkest. Deep calleth unto deep. The deepest spirit in the apparently ruined soul believes, and trembles, although its hour of repentance is not yet. And when the appeal is to the heart of the child, every door of access is left open for the spirit of God to enter there. The world often sadly for-

gets its sinning children. And yet, did men always strive to preserve the uncorrupted, with the same fidelity in which they sometimes plead with the grossly fallen, what imagination can picture the possible result? If those who are sunk into the hell of sin can be borne across the almost impassable gulf to their Father's house, what could we fail to do, were we faithful, for those who have just come down out of heaven into our arms?

No man can state the possible effect of such a principle in Christian education. It not only inspires an invincible confidence; it removes the cloud which has so long concealed religion's especial charm. Dr. Bushnell describes, with deep feeling in his words, the unlovely aspect which has been so often given it by the idea that it frowns upon all the noble impulses, the generous affections, of human nature, until some technical experience has been gained. Men have made religion repulsive, almost hateful, by this mistake. Let such a doctrine be fully developed, and it will drive the heart into moral self-abandonment, or into madness. It has had unnumbered victims, whom Dr. Bushnell's statement might have saved. Indeed, religion must have been overthrown many times by the false teachings of its sincere, but mistaken, advocates, had it not been a declaration of those eternal laws of the soul which neither the mistakes of friends nor the opposition of foes can set aside. Piety will never wear its true aspect, winning the soul by its loveliness, until we entirely outgrow this sad misapprehension. Let us believe in an absolute harmony between the soul of the child, and the love, the life, to which Jesus calls it. Let us think of religion as bending over the young heart, as the mother, in her love, looks into the infant's face, assured that a capacity is there to begin at once to answer to its infinite affection; to be unfolded in a filial tenderness as natural as any that ever blessed a home upon earth, and as enduring as the relation between the spirit and its God. Only then shall we see the noblest victories of Christian truth in the heart of transgressing men or unperverted youth.

There are confirmations of the hope that such victories will yet be witnessed. Notwithstanding the fact that the world is filled with instances of failure, experience, in one view, verifies our principle. What makes the child's heart leap up so quickly at a history of goodness? How he muses, in his dreams of the future, on pure and noble deeds

which he hopes to do! How he follows Jesus in the outpouring of his priceless affections, as you tell of his all-suffering love in living tones! How he listens, at times, in subdued reverence, when you speak in pure faith of a Father's providence! How instinctively he believes in immortality! Other impulses quickly and often come; yet these are present too. The young heart may open under such instructions as the flowers to the sun, if we do not cloud it by our sin. And if we wish for a more convincing witness from experience, we have only to remember the instance of the Moravians, to whom Dr. Bushnell refers. No devotion has been more fervent than theirs; and their hymns of praise, the expressions of their love and trust and prayer in song, seem more like breathings from heaven than notes from mortal lips. They present religion in its loveliness, not only because they are so true, but because they speak to the heart of the child with a faith in its power to begin to breathe this air of heaven in the first opening of its life.

But we forbear. We must leave some topics which we desired to present. Let us again commend these Discourses of Dr. Bushnell to general notice, and, in few words, urge the importance of the subject which they discuss. We rejoice to see so many indications of a new conviction of the necessity of a true Christian nurture, as our only real hope for our country and for the world. No pleadings upon this theme can be too urgent or too strong. Many of the attempts at great moral reformations partially fail, because this Christian education has not been given. We counsel no cessation of these pleadings for such reforms. By an attack upon specific sins we may produce convictions of regenerating truths in the heart of the world. But we cannot yet graft such pure fruits of love upon this corrupt and selfish life. One generation, trained in the spirit of the view which Dr. Bushnell presents, might banish slavery and war, and many kindred sins. We rejoice, too, that parental influence is urged by him so strongly, as a divinely appointed agency for this great work. No combination of holy influences can compensate for its loss. We mourn, as we consider this, when we see how the children of numberless homes seem to be bereaved of their heaven-ordained teachers by the tendencies or the neglects of the time. The intense action of the business world, absorbing all thought, all energy, on the part of so many in large sections of the country, and the gradual

neglect of parental discipline in so many instances more, have produced a vast change in this respect throughout the world. When we think of the direct moral influence which is attempted or exerted, how often does the parent seem to be little more than an idea to the child, if haply the case be not sadder still! We shudder to read of the children who are brought to the Ganges by parental hands, to be cast into the fatal stream. Yet, though misguided, a sense of religion is there, and that thought throws a kind of consecration over such an unnatural and revolting deed. What is it to suffer the child to go by our neglect, or to cast him by our example, into that more fatal stream of selfish thought, feeling, desire, which pours through the heart of society, as its controlling life? Here arise questions not to be set aside. If they be not heard, they will yet demand an answer in tones which no man can silence.

Even our arrangements for moral instruction seem partially to remove the child from this indispensable parental nurture. True, it is an absolute, an inexcusable perversion of their design. Yet we fear, we believe, that many parents, who would feel it an imperative duty, under other circumstances, to attempt to give some direct, regular religious teaching to their children, transfer that holy office now to other hands. The instruction sadly ceases in the home, because it is given in the Sunday school. The parent cannot transfer his office, let others do what they may. These neglectful parents not only bereave their offspring of an influence which they alone can exert, they almost defeat every influence besides. The *silence* of a parent's lips respecting the holiest themes may do more to chill the child's heart into apathy, to make it heedless, dead to all Divine appeals, than any direct teaching of others can do to give it life. The negative influence of a home may outweigh all the positive influence of a world. The parent cannot transfer his office. No solemn sanctions of the truth of God in later years can inspire a reverence more profound, more all-subduing, than that in which the child may listen to the fervent teaching of a true mother's heart. Here is a priesthood which is divine, through which the spirit of truth and love shall flow directly into the secret soul. We repeat, the parent cannot transfer his office, if he would. And he who seeks to do it should be ashamed, both for his want of natural affection, and his neglect of his directly consecrated work, his inexcusable sin. But we

can only present these suggestions. We wish that some voice of power would express in living words this "cry of the children" to those who have given them life, for the nurture of their souls; for then should we see the foundation securely laid upon which our best hopes for the world may rest.

Since the preceding article was written, Dr. Bushnell has published "An Argument for Discourses on Christian Nurture, addressed to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society." It is an admirable pamphlet. A few passages, we confess, seemed to us at first severe. They certainly show with what skill the author might use the most pointed weapons, if he chose. Yet a perusal of the whole has convinced us, that even these passages may be regarded as proper rebukes from one who is assured of his position and is working for the noblest and broadest ends. A large portion of his Argument is devoted to a most successful defence of his little work against the charge of heresy. We admire the spirit of reverence and of freedom in which he pursues this discussion; entering upon it, "not because he does not feel himself at liberty to defy all human authority, when truth seems to require it, but because it is pleasant to have the sanction of venerable names, when we may." The remainder of the pamphlet, embracing his replies to criticisms upon his theory of nurture, and remarks upon many connected topics, has a still greater interest. His strictures concerning the nature of the experiences often produced by the excitement of revivals are philosophical and candid. And we have seldom been impressed more deeply than by one passage, in which he makes a renewed statement of the organic connection between the parent and the child, showing how the parent's moral life may stream into the child's soul, as by a law of contagion, in the "era of impressions," even before language has been learned; presenting a view whose possible truth is enough to make every imperfect man almost stand aghast with fear. But we have no space to devote to any of these topics. We can only invite attention to one extract, which is a noble declaration of the catholic spirit in which Dr. Bushnell pursues his inquiries.

"I did not draw up this scheme of nurture to meet the uses or gratify the opinions of any sect. It is a first maxim with me, as

I think it should be in this age of every one who pretends to think at all, to reach after the most comprehensive form of truth possible; to see how far I may dissolve into unity, in the views I present, the conflicting opinions by which men are divided, giving them back all which they are after, in a form which they can accept together. And the fortune of my little book is, in this view, remarkable, though not a surprise to myself." — p. 24.

A man could not honor himself more than by the avowal of such a principle. It proves him to be worthy of his age. We hail it with joy. We deem its advocacy more important than the most successful vindication of any particular opinion which we may cherish. Its prevalence must open a way by which all great truths can be vindicated. Theologians, moved by an aim so broad, are what the Christian world most deeply needs. We should not desire to see them included in one sect. The interests of truth would be better promoted by having some men appear in all the various sects with such comprehensive aims, expounding universal principles each from his special point of view. Then we should not have one strain alone, but a complete anthem, in which all the varied notes would be blended at length in full and perfect harmony. We rejoice to see how consistently Dr. Bushnell follows out his principle in his references to the reception of his work by other sects. We welcome his criticisms upon Unitarianism. He thinks that Unitarianism will cease to exist. If the adoption of his principle of action by the Christian world should at length destroy it as a distinctive sect, we may at least take this comfort, — that the same process would destroy many other sects also. Meanwhile we can only express the earnest desire that some man amongst ourselves will meet Dr. Bushnell, and all who may sympathize with him, in "the freedom of conference" he seems to wish, expounding great doctrines from our own point of view, in the same free and catholic spirit. Perhaps no better service could now be done for the religious world.

G. W. B.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind. By and through ANDREW JACKSON DAVIS, the "Poughkeepsie Seer" and "Clairvoyant." New York. 1847. 8vo. pp. 782.

THE testimony is so strong in support of the claim, made by Davis and his coadjutors, that this book shall be believed to have been dictated by him in consecutive states of clairvoyance, that we find it most easy to admit the fact, while we take the liberty of rationalizing it a little. Admitting, however, that clairvoyance is an established phenomenon, and that speaking or dictating under its influence is not uncommon, when, in addition to this, it is asserted that the thing dictated is a "supplement of grace" from a spiritual plane above the mind, and not an organic development under the stimulus of an exalted state, there is only one kind of testimony upon which belief can supervene; for a bare assertion is worthless, if the case do not furnish such testimony. In the first place, the knowledge superadded to the mind must not have existed previously as the result of natural speculation; otherwise the revelation would be a superfluity. What every body can know, without the expensive process of an influx of spirits into a clairvoyant's mind, cannot establish the reality of such an influx; because nature, or rather the presence of God, is too economical to create the same result by two distinct methods. Science is continually vindicating the *lex parsimoniæ*. We do not question Divine ability; we only assert the Divine limitations of ability, as manifested in the immutability of laws. A system of law may have its exceptional clauses, by virtue of which Divine interference may ensue; but this is for the purpose of effecting something beyond the known routine of law, not for doing something that known laws can do. The crystallization of distinct minerals, the unfolding of all germs, occur only in one way. So, if one truth be imparted by a natural process, we are not authorized to expect that it will be imparted by a preternatural process, — and if the latter be essential, the former is inadequate. We cannot fancy any spiritual agency being at the trouble of revealing what every body knew before. Now, to apply this canon to Davis's book, we find the following objection to its claim; — that the speculations it contains are to be found, so far as our private researches have extended, within the covers of a moderate number of other books. We except some quaint and random

guesses, which certainly cannot be due to a "supplement of grace," since they are not worth having, or at least not essential to be had, by any method. We refer, for instance, to the fancies designed to account for the traditions in the first two chapters of Matthew; any other fancies being equally explanatory, provided the traditionary character of those chapters be first assumed. With respect to the bulk of the work, it is a very ably arranged generalization of the theories contained in the works of the modern development-school, — in the "Vestiges of Creation," for instance, — the gaps in these theories being adroitly supplied by guesses which harmonize with their texture, and which the theories irresistibly suggest. It also contains a skilful foreshortening of the cosmogony of Swedenborg and Fourier, together with the two pivotal thoughts of the latter, — "attractions are proportional to destinies," and "the series distribute the harmonies." An attentive reader of that spirited paper, "The Harbinger," would be competent to construct the industrial and social revelations of Mr. Davis. And we are forced to say that the bulk of his "Voice to Mankind" has been preëxisting in our private library for some time. We except the speculations upon language, as philology has never been our study. Our simple conclusion is, that Mr. Davis has been a reader, whether any body ever saw him read or not. What is once lodged in the memory, even during an irregular and unpremeditated course of reading, may be felicitously reproduced in the clairvoyant state, which raises an ordinary capacity to the higher power manifested by more gifted organizations.

In the second place, the speculations advanced in such a book must fulfil the first condition of a revelation, — that it harmonize with, or that it be appreciable by, reason. But as most of these speculations are of a scientific character, science only can pronounce a definite judgment concerning them. Now the revelation is superfluous in either of the following cases, — if it repeat, or if it anticipate science; because in both of these cases science is adequate for the annunciation of her own truths, and in the latter case the revelation is useless, till science, that is, the inductive understanding, has had time and opportunity to indorse it. It will not do to say that we consider some parts of this book as irrational, because the answer is always ready, — so did the Jews consider Jesus the dupe of Beelzebub, and Paul full of new wine. But we are content to leave the book to satisfy the necessary conditions we have just announced.

Professor Bush, who is in the dilemma of believing in Swedenborg and in Davis also, is forced to ascribe the anti-Swedenborgian passages of the book to the instigation of the devil, who, it seems, alternated with the seraphim in the use of Davis. We

cannot refer to the same source the passages obnoxious to ourselves, because we do not believe in the existence of that personage. At least, we hope he does not exist, as was once wittily remarked, for his own sake. Professor Bush's method is a warning to all lovers of dogmatics; he first assumes what is orthodox, and then eliminates from the book what does not harmonize with that assumption, and traces its paternity to the Enemy of mankind in general, and of Swedenborg in particular. Every body must have his own private test of heresy; but when heresies are so numerously different, it clothes the devil with too much importance to ascribe them all to him.

We do not like many passages of this book, but we cannot agree with many reviewers, who denounce it as being vindictive, anti-social, and destructive. The occasional sneers are not pleasant; neither do we believe that spirits sneer. Here and there the statement of a fact seems to be erroneous, which also militates against the claim of the book to plenary suggestion. The main question of the theory of development awaits the gradual judgment that science may pronounce upon it. It is sufficient to say that facts do not yet substantiate the conclusions of the "Vestiges of Creation," a book that seems to have hinted the whole cosmogony of the "Revelations." On the other hand, there is a great deal in the book that we admire, and have long admired in other connections. Neither do we reject the theory of attractive industry; but we consider it to be the ripened form of guarantyism and of the Benefit Societies. Sometimes the style of the book is quite pleasant and effective, but it is generally too diffuse and tiresome in its repetitions. The main idea is skilfully sustained and developed, and this, together with rapidity of composition, is probably the chief benefit to be derived from the reproduction of thoughts in the clairvoyant state.

If it should turn out that Mr. Davis never read the books suggestive of his revelation, and never heard them accidentally or designedly made the subject of conversation, and if he did not — as is, after all, most likely — reproduce, by magnetic sympathy, the prevalent mental notions of those in communication with him, which is usually the case with these clairvoyant revelations, — then we must believe that the brain is a galvanic battery, which, when charged, will organically reproduce precisely those theories of Development and of Association that are now dividing the scientific world. For the objections, made above, to the supplemental influx of these theories are to us insuperable. But we feel ourselves attracted into a domain too wide and fruitful for this brief notice.

Mr. Davis affirms, that in his normal state he is orthodox, and believes many of the things that he, or his demon, wilfully denies

in his abnormal state. All our remarks apply to Mr. Davis in his abnormal state; therefore he cannot feel aggrieved at any thing we have suggested. W—S.

The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton. With a Life of the Author. By JOSIAH QUINCY. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 360.

THE Memoir included in this volume is composed almost entirely of the letters of Major Shaw to his parents, his brothers, and the Rev. Dr. Eliot of Boston. Mr. Quincy has introduced only such remarks as are necessary to connect the personal history of the author with the circumstances amidst which he lived. Major Shaw was one of the true patriots of our war of Independence. He was a soldier then; and if we had ever entertained a doubt whether an army could embrace men of the purest moral principle, of the gentlest feelings, and of a fervent Christian piety, the perusal of this volume would have convinced us of the possibility of the fact. He was a native of Boston, born of a respectable family in the middle ranks of society. While looking forward to a peaceful life of industry and enterprise, and even before he had reached the year of his own legal freedom, he made a voluntary offer of his services in behalf of his country, at the very commencement of the war. He continued to serve through the whole protracted conflict, meeting all the harassing uncertainties which it involved, and bearing his full share of its severe experiences of poverty, suffering, and anxiety. He was a man of good intellectual powers, of most delicate purity of character, and of a noble soul. His letters bear testimony to his excellence; the freshness of incident and the justice of sentiment which present themselves as we read give them a great charm. His Journals, written while he was engaged in the peaceful enterprise of opening commercial relations between our young republic and the China seas, exhibit the judgment and prudence which we should expect to find united with his other qualities. The reader of this volume will discover in it new cause to admire and venerate the character of Washington. What a man he was! What a testimony does he offer to those who argue for a special Providence!

Mr. Quincy has performed his pleasant task with great delicacy and good judgment. The volume, in its mechanical execution, is one of the best which we have ever seen from the American press. The whole expense of the publication is borne by Robert G. Shaw, Esq., nephew of Major Shaw, and the proceeds of its sale are a gift from him to the Boston Marine Society.

E.

The Evangel of Love. Interpreted by Henry Sutton. London. 1847. 12mo.. pp. 232.

This is a strange, mystic book. The author is a hater of forms, a despiser of authority; the Bible is to him a bundle of "old pamphlets"; he is a vegetable-eater, a coiner of new and marvellously uncouth words, evidently an ardent admirer of his own notions, a worshipper of his own dreams, yet withal a man of large sympathies, who has an eye for beauty, a lover of nature, one in whom there is something to like, whose discourse on high themes at times — though long and far between — charms us, while at others, and more frequently, his vain babble, his wild and extravagant opinions, and his Babylonish dialect, leave us in doubt whether we ought rather to censure his perverseness, or "believe him mad." His book is professedly pantheistic, and so, he tells us, "it is wrong to say a stone is *inanimate*, or a gas *unintelligent*." Regarding the Bible as we have said, pronouncing it a "polytheistic book from first to last," treating it with levity, sarcasm, and ridicule, he yet at times professes great respect for it; he "loves" it, he says, he rates it "at a royal value," and he proceeds to interpret it in his whimsical way, applying to it a violence of allegory which might satisfy a Clement of Alexandria, an Origen, or a Swedenborg. Thus, in the account of the creation, which prefigures seven ages of the world, the heavens, he assures us with all imaginable seriousness, mean the "spiritual faculties"; the earth, "intellect," and the waters, "peoples," or "nations"; light is "truth"; grass, herb, and tree, "philosophy, letters, and the arts," the third day being the "Day of Beauty"; the greater light is the "Christian Church," the cross being "the natural emblem of the sun," the lesser light — the "crescent" — being "Mahometanism." So the "meaning of the word, *horse*, is *intellectual doctrine*." Every man, we are told, discarding a "paper-and-ink Deity," that is, the Deity of the Bible, must be "his own priest, his own church, his own Delphi"; we can all be "breathing Bibles," if we will; or we may go, he says, to "Emerson," or "Shelley," or "James Greaves," all true "prophets," he assures us, and among the greatest, by whose help we may get over the "Bible Shallows" and penetrate the "Bible Deeps"; and more than that,— "the whole universe" being "opened" and "the past and the future bared" to the "omniscient gaze" of such men. Among the cabalistic or euphonious words in which he delights are such as these: — "soulic," "bodysoulic," "psychesomeic," and "bodilic." From the better parts of his volume we could quote some pleasing passages, though they might, perhaps, justify the suspicion, that the writer, like some others, would substitute the

worship of beauty for reverence for the sterner principle of duty, and so make puny sentimentalists rather than whole-souled men and Christians. With all the pretension with which they are put forth, and all their boast of light and "inspiration," we cannot think that this is the sort of books by which the world is to be regenerated. Something may be culled from them, no doubt, by those who have skill to separate the good from the evil, but we fear their poisonous flowers. L.

A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language; with Vocabularies of Classical, Scripture, and Modern Geographical Names. By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER. Revised and Enlarged, and made substantially an Abridgment of the Author's "Universal and Critical Dictionary." Boston: Jenks, Palmer, & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 491.

THIS work, as the author informs us in the preface, and as the title-page indicates, is substantially "an epitome or abridgment" of the larger work, noticed with commendation by us in our number for November, 1846. It is adapted to the use of schools and academies, and also of families and individuals who may need "a small and cheap manual." We have no hesitation in pronouncing it the best work of the kind now before the public. Attention has been given to the orthography, pronunciation, and meaning of words, and "numerous technical terms in the various arts and sciences" are added. "Some words which are obsolete or antiquated, but which are found in books that are much read," and some which are "local or provincial," as well as "such words and phrases from foreign languages as are often met with in English books," are given, but are so "noted or discriminated" as not to mislead. About 3000 Greek and Latin names have been added to those found in Walker's "Key"; the vocabulary of modern geographical names, with their pronunciation, so useful and even necessary at the present day, has been enlarged, and the Scripture proper names, as well as the classical, the compiler tells us, have been "revised with much care." In all its vocabularies, the volume contains "upwards of 67,000 words." The type is clear and the notations distinct, and altogether this edition possesses a decided superiority over the former, and should be the edition in future used in schools. Mr. Worcester's labors in the department of English lexicography deserve the thanks of all writers and readers of our language.

L.

The Voyage of the Jamestown on her Errand of Mercy. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 154.

This is the voyage of the century. It is one of those things which can take place but once. It may be imitated; but this was the *first* voyage of a ship of war on such an errand, and as such it will take its place in the history of the world. All the circumstances attending the mission of the Jamestown — the readiness with which she was granted by the government, the manner in which she was loaded, the good wishes of a whole population which attended her, her passage so speedy that almost the first response to the appeal of starving Ireland was her actual appearance, heavily laden with provisions, in the harbour of Cork, and last, but not least, the character of her commander and officers — were such as one would have wished them to be. A favoring Providence seemed to be over the enterprise from beginning to end. Captain Forbes has done well to publish the documents contained in this volume. The particulars should be preserved in a durable form. His Report to the Committee of Distribution, which introduces the Correspondence and Narrative of Events at Cork, is an admirable one, — hearty, frank, to the point, — revealing in the writer a mind and a heart which fitted him to take charge of this national charity. P.

The Prophecy of the Santon; and other Poems. Worcester & Boston. 1847. 12mo. pp. 114.

We have read this volume with much interest, and gladly extend to its author a kind welcome. It interests us, not so much on account of the actual poetry which it contains, as for the sake of the promise of future achievements which we find in it. Its tone is calm and high, and it is evidently the production of a chastened heart and a thoughtful mind. There are passages of considerable strength and fervor of imagination in several of the poems, especially in the one called "Midnight," which, notwithstanding its somewhat unequal execution, strikes us as much the best in the collection. The author shows throughout a quick and delicate appreciation of the musical power of words, and a decided command of melodious measures. The great charm of the book, however, to us, and its fairest sign of progress, is its genuine simplicity and modesty. We have rarely seen a *first* volume of poems so admirable in this respect. We cannot of course give any extracts, but we may refer to "Angel Love," which is, we think, almost perfect in its kind, to the "Song of

Death," and to the "Meeting of Art and Religion," as favorable specimens of the peculiar excellences of this new poet, to whom we again offer our warm and friendly greeting. H—t.

The Months. By WILLIAM H. C. HOSMER. Boston: W. D. Ticknor & Co. 1847. 16mo. pp. 72.

WE have examined the leaves of another of those poetic volumes in which the literary spirit of our time has so plentifully flowered out,—each successive product having a hue, if not a fragrance, of its own. This new blossom has, to our perceptions, both hue and fragrance. The fancy of our author hardily blooms through every season and month of the year. There is no flaunting pretence or grand proportion in his offering, but it is natural and tasteful, and we accept it as we would the early snowdrop, the spring violet, the summer daisy, or the last gift of autumnal green and crimson that rests on the winter's edge. B—l.

The Principles of Morality, and the Private and Political Rights and Obligations of Mankind. By JONATHAN DYMOND. Abridged, etc., for Use of Schools, etc. By CAROLINE M. KIRKLAND. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. 1846. 12mo. pp. 263.

OUR readers are doubtless well acquainted with "Dymond's Essays" in its complete form. And yet none can be too familiar with it. We fear that an impression exists somewhat unfavorable to this work, on account of its alleged moral ultraism. In our judgment, such a charge only exhibits the need long felt by us, which this book supplies, of a less compromising code of morals. Many who were not able to receive Dymond's thoroughgoing Gospel ethics, when the work first appeared, might now, on reading it again, find their minds and hearts able to bear it. We earnestly commend the original work to our readers.

Mrs. Kirkland has done an excellent service in this Abridgment. The language is not changed; only the amplifications and subtile reasonings, not adapted to the comprehension of children and young people, are left out. The work is provided with numerous and carefully prepared questions, fitting it eminently for a Sunday school or class book. Her Preface modestly expresses the hope "that this little book might fall into the hands of some who would be led by its perusal to inquire for the original and far more interesting and instructive volume." We hope,

on the other hand, that those who have read the original will not fail to provide their children with the Abridgment, "presenting in a miniature form, and yet in identical language, the essence of the entire work." We want nothing so much as a more uncompromising obedience to the precepts and spirit of Christ instilled into the mind of the rising generation; and this book is admirably fitted to infuse it. B—s.

Woman, her Education and Influence. By Mrs. Hugo Reid. With a General Introduction. By Mrs. C. M. Kirkland. New York. 1847. 12mo. pp. 142.

On the whole, the best argument for "woman's rights" we have read. The extravagance which usually attends the vindication of woman's claims by her own sex is here, for the most part, repressed. We cannot too much admire the skill, taste, delicate satire, and just feeling of Mrs. Kirkland's preliminary essay; and we are not able, even when willing, to escape the calm argumentation and dignified remonstrance which Mrs. Reid opposes to the sneers and jests with which the "nobler sex" are accustomed to receive any assertion of womanly rights beyond those already conceded. We can assure our readers that here is a book aiming at reform in the position of woman, which neither denies Christianity, nor saps social order, which does not sympathize with George Sand, nor quote Fanny Wright. Is not this the book we are all wanting to see? B—s.

King Réné's Daughter. A Lyric Drama. From the Danish of Henrik Hertz. By Jane Frances Chapman, Translator of "Waldemar," and "King Eric and the Outlaw." London. 1845. 18mo. pp. 87.

This little Drama is the work of Henrik Hertz, a writer who, as Miss Chapman in her short and sensible Preface tells us, holds a high rank among Danish authors. The idea of the play is the beautiful truth, that spirit precedes and moulds matter, and it is very well carried out. Iolanthé, the daughter of the troubadour King Réné, of Provence, blind from her childhood, is placed, in order to regain her sight, under the care of an old leech, who says that it can return to her only through the yearnings of her soul after light. These are awakened by the words and love of a young poet, Tristan de Vaudemont, to whom the princess, on receiving her sight, is united. The plot is well conceived and gracefully managed. Miss Chapman's translation, we should

think, must be an excellent one, though we could wish that she had not sometimes sacrificed truth of quantity and simplicity of expression to the demands of metre. These are, however, comparatively trifling defects, and we heartily thank her for the pleasure we have received from this agreeable product of her industry, taste, and skill. H—t.

The True Story of My Life; a Sketch. By HANS CHRISTIAN ANDERSEN. Translated by Mary Howitt. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1847. 12mo. pp. 298.

THIS very interesting book is so written, that the reader feels, while turning over its pages, that it is as trustworthy in its details as it is simple and natural and beautiful in its style; and also — what cannot be said of every autobiography — that he is gaining an insight into the author's real character, as well as a knowledge of his various fortunes. We have room only to add, for the sake of those to whom the name of Hans Christian Andersen is new, that he was born, in 1805, on a small island of Denmark, passed his early years in the lowest condition of life, struggled for a long time with extreme poverty and its attendant difficulties, without allowing his temper to be soured or his faith either in God or man to be weakened, and finally, by his writings alone, which are distinguished not less by moral purity than by intellectual power, secured for himself a European reputation, such as but few, in the most favorable circumstances, have been able to acquire. B—t.

Mary Anna; or a Visit to the Country. By a LADY. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols. 1847. 18mo. pp. 107.

WE are not among those who believe it well to say to a little girl of seven years of age, "You have a sinful nature," or to teach her that Christ has promised to "present the guilty soul, washed in his atoning blood, to his Father in heaven." With the exceptions which this remark implies, we commend the "Visit to the Country," as a narrative which the young may read with pleasure and advantage. B—t.

The Sick Chamber. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 18mo. pp. 50.

WE entirely agree with the "medical friend" of the publishers, who says, "I cordially recommend the work you sent me to

all who are, either occasionally or as an occupation, called to perform those offices of the sick-chamber to which it relates." Its suggestions in regard to the methods and *manners* of the friends, as well as the nurses, of the sick, will meet with the instant assent of every one who has known the trial of long illness. G.

The Parables of our Lord. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1848. 16mo. pp. 34.

We have received from Messrs. Appleton & Co. a copy of this beautiful volume, and do not hesitate to pronounce it the most complete specimen, in its kind, of typographical enterprise that has appeared in this country. The parables of our Lord are printed on parchment, each page surrounded by a deep and richly illuminated margin, the various devices for which, being different on every page, exhibit the ingenuity, as well as mechanical skill, of the artist. The volume is bound in heavy embossed covers, and is altogether a gem. G.

Two Discourses on the Character of Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D. By Daniel Sharp. Worcester. 1847. 8vo. pp. 20.

A Discourse commemorative of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Albany, on Sabbath Evening, June 27, 1847. By William B. Sprague, D. D. Albany. 1847. 8vo. pp. 47.

Jesus the Best Teacher of his Religion. A Discourse delivered before the Graduating Class of the Cambridge Theological School, July 11, 1847. By Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 29.

A Discourse delivered before the Third Congregationalist Society in Cambridge, August 1, 1847, *being the Sunday after the sudden Death of Lowell M. Stone.* By A. B. Muzzey, Pastor of the Lee Street Church, Cambridge. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1847. 8vo. pp. 16.

Christ the Way. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Rev. George M. Bartol, as Minister of the First Church of Christ in Lancaster, Mass., Wednesday, August 4, 1847. By Cyrus A. Bartol, Junior Minister of West Church in Boston. With the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. C. T. Thayer; and the Charge, by Rev. Alonzo Hill. Lancaster. 1847. 8vo. pp. 50.

The Anniversary and Farewell Sermons, preached in the Hollis Street Meetinghouse, the former March 3, the latter Septem-

ber 19, 1847. By DAVID FOSDICK, Jr., Minister of the Hollis Street Society. Boston: B. H. Greene. 1847. 8vo. pp. 40.

On Religious Decision. (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 240.) Boston: Crosby & Nichols. July, 1847. 12mo. pp. 12.

The Essential in Christianity. (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 241.) August, 1847. 12mo. pp. 15.

The Penalties of Sin. (Tract of Amer. Unit. Assoc., No. 242.) September, 1847. 12mo. pp. 16.

Discourses on Medical Education, and on the Medical Profession. By JOHN WARE, M. D., Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in the University at Cambridge. Boston: J. Munroe & Co. 1847. 8vo. pp. 113.

Human Knowledge: a Discourse delivered before the Massachusetts Alpha of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, August 26, 1847. By GEORGE P. MARSH. Boston: Little & Brown. 1847. 8vo. pp. 42.

A Statement of the Claims of Charles T. Jackson, M. D., to the Discovery of the Applicability of Sulphuric Ether to the Prevention of Pain in Surgical Operations. By MARTIN GAY, M. D. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 47.

On the Pathological and Physiological Effects of Ethereal Inhalation. With an Appendix, containing an Additional Case and Experiments. By BUCKMINSTER BROWN, M. D. Boston. 1847. 8vo. pp. 17.

Remarks on the Harvard Triennial. 12mo. pp. 12.

THE Discourses of Doctors Sharp and Sprague bear testimony to the sensation produced by the death of Dr. Chalmers beyond the circle in which he immediately moved, and are such as the reputation of their respective authors would entitle us to expect from their pens, — clear, graphic, and fervent. — Mr. May attempts no discussion of great topics, but with his usual straightforwardness and fervor urges the claims of practical Christianity as of more value than speculative theology, thus taking the ground which Unitarians have, as he says, occupied from the beginning, and which, if they are consistent, they must continue to occupy. — Mr. Muzzey's Discourse contains an affectionate tribute to the memory of one, who to the virtues which peculiarly endeared him to his friends added those Christian excellences which gave promise of a life of great usefulness, and caused his early death to be deplored as a public loss. — Mr. Bartol takes a rapid survey of the various substitutes for Christ, as the Church, theology, philosophy, and outward and exclusive reform, argues their futility, and pleads earnestly for the doctrine which teaches that to become

truly Christian we must go and sit at the feet of Jesus himself, allowing nothing to stand between the soul and him. — Without undertaking to pronounce judgment on the many "vexed questions" which have come up from time to time in relation to the Hollis Street society, we must give Mr. Fosdick credit for the independence and manliness with which he states the "condition and course of things," the difficulties which environed his path, and the principles which have governed him. We cannot but add the expression of our hope that a better state of things may soon exist in that once large and prosperous society. — We are glad to learn that the Committee of the Unitarian Association have adopted the plan of publishing only original tracts, prepared for the purpose. The three tracts, the titles of which are given above, contain earnest and useful discussions of very important subjects, precisely what are wanted, and all the better for being brief and condensed. The Committee, as we learn, have been successful in securing the coöperation of such writers as give the best assurance of the accomplishment of their plan.

The first of Dr. Ware's Discourses, on the Condition and Prospects of the Medical Profession, was read before the Massachusetts Medical Society in May last; the second and third were delivered before the Medical Class of Harvard University, one in 1843, on Medical Education, the other, which stands last in the series, in 1833, the subject being the Duties and Qualifications of Physicians. They are all marked by the author's usual candor and good-sense, and present views worthy the attention of the public as well as of the profession. — Mr. Marsh, as is evident from his Discourse, had we no other proof, is a man who thinks; and though its style is not particularly easy and graceful, and it contains no passages of glowing eloquence, it evinces a taste for intellectual and scholarly pursuits, and a just appreciation of the nature and objects of "human knowledge." — With the controversy about the person who is entitled to the credit of the discovery of the letheon, we have no desire to intermeddle, farther than to say that Dr. Jackson's claim to a large share of the honor seems to us to be clearly substantiated by Dr. Gay's pamphlet. — Dr. Brown presents some interesting facts in proof of the efficacy of the ethereal vapor as a means of relief from the suffering attendant on surgical operations. — The "Remarks on the Harvard Triennial," though in their temper and tone not wholly to our taste, expose grave errors of the publication reviewed, one of a class of documents which, it may be feared, are often, in all our institutions, issued without a sufficient attention to that accuracy which is an indispensable condition of excellence. This timely correction, therefore, may be useful in awakening attention, both at Cambridge and elsewhere, to a too much neglected subject.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ecclesiastical Record. — We have fewer ministerial changes to notice than usual, and our intelligence under this head, we are glad to observe, will refer rather to the commencement and continuance than to the close of professional engagements. Rev. Mr. Fosdick, who, we stated in our last number, had given notice that his connection with the Hollis Street society in Boston would terminate at the expiration of six months, has withdrawn entirely from that connection. — Rev. Mr. Pettes having relinquished his ministry at Sharon, Rev. Mr. Stone, late of Brewster, has taken charge of the pulpit for the winter. — Rev. Mr. Maynard, formerly of Needham, has removed to Dennis, in compliance with an invitation from the society in that place. — Rev. Mr. Richardson has dissolved his pastoral relation to the church at Southington, Conn., and become the minister of the congregation in Haverhill, Mass. — Rev. Mr. Allen, late of (Jamaica Plain) Roxbury, has accepted an invitation to become the permanent minister of the church at Washington, D. C. — Rev. Mr. Edes, who had resigned his connection with the people at Bolton, has acceded to their request to remain with them. — Rev. Mr. Clapp, at the close of a year's engagement with the society at West Roxbury, has renewed his engagement for an indefinite time. — Rev. Mr. Tilden, late of Concord, N. H., will supply the pulpit at Dover, N. H., through the winter. — Rev. Mr. Harrington, late of Albany, N. Y., will preach to the Unitarian society recently formed in Lawrence during the winter. — Rev. Mr. Rice, late of Mendon, will occupy the pulpit at Belfast, Me., for the winter. — Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, Mo., having returned from Europe with confirmed health, is on his way to resume his ministerial duties in that city. — Rev. Mr. Clapp of New Orleans has also returned from Europe with improved health.

Autumnal Convention. — The sixth Unitarian Autumnal Convention was held at Salem, Mass., on the 19th, 20th, and 21st of October, 1847, and, with possibly one exception, was inferior to none which had preceded it in point of interest or value. Ample accommodation had been provided for the meetings of the Convention, and the houses of our Salem friends were thrown open for the reception of guests with unstinted hospitality. The weather was delightful, and the attendance larger than on previous occasions of a similar kind. We were unable to ascertain the number of ministers present, but it was very considerable; and of laymen, and of ladies, not only did Salem furnish a large representation, but many were present from Boston and its neighbourhood, and several from places much more remote. All the meetings were crowded from their commencement to their close. A committee composed of members from the four Unitarian societies of the city had, in connection with the committee appointed for the purpose at the last Convention, made all the necessary arrangements, which were carried out

with entire success. The Convention held its sessions successively in three of the four Unitarian meetinghouses, the other not being in a condition for public use, as it was undergoing repairs; while the evening religious services were attended in a hall, of much larger dimensions than either of the churches, which was completely filled. Social entertainments were provided for Tuesday and Wednesday evenings in a smaller hall, where the members of the Convention were received by the ladies, whose presence gave to their hospitality a special attraction. Nothing occurred to mar the pleasure of the meetings, but, on the contrary, they increased in interest from the beginning, till we presume that we express the common judgment in saying that the session of the Convention on Thursday morning was one of the most delightful ever held. The speaking was unusually good. Considered merely as affording specimens of extemporaneous address, we have never listened to discussions that gave us a deeper impression of excellence. There was variety of opinion, but no discord; many speakers, but no confusion; freedom of remark, but no unpleasant collision of feeling. On the contrary, as on other similar occasions, in every one present the conviction must have been strengthened that Unitarians can differ without losing mutual respect or love. And this, we think, is one of the great benefits, perhaps the chief use, of these semiannual gatherings, — that they show more clearly than can be seen in our more formal anniversary meetings that we are true to our own principles of independence of judgment and liberality of sentiment. Year after year we have returned from the Autumnal Convention with a firmer persuasion that Unitarians have discovered the true secret of union amidst differences, and that they may be trusted for the maintenance of Christian sympathies under great variety of intellectual or theological conclusions. The meeting this year was distinguished more than on previous years by the attention given to questions of philanthropic interest, while less than usual was said upon our peculiar doctrinal opinions. And here, too, was exhibited a freedom, which, instead of confining the discussions to subjects of dogmatic or ecclesiastical interest, allowed them to reflect the aspect of the times. The only regret, we believe, which was felt by any one, was the limitation of time, which obliged the Convention to hasten its proceedings at the close, in consequence of the engagement of many of its members at another important meeting in Boston.

The Convention was called to order by Rev. Mr. Osgood, chairman of the committee of arrangements, on Tuesday afternoon, at 4 o'clock, in the Barton Square chapel. Hon. Stephen Fairbanks was chosen Chairman, and G. F. Thayer, Esq., Secretary *pro tem.* Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington. A committee of nomination was appointed, that reported a list of officers for the Convention, who were unanimously chosen; viz. Hon. Samuel Hoar of Concord, Mass., *President;* Rev. John Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., Hon. Robert Rantoul of Beverly, Mass., Rev. Edward B. Hall of Providence, R. I., and Hon. Albert Fearing of Boston, Mass., *Vice-Presidents;* Rev. Abiel A. Livermore of Keene, N. H., and Francis Alger, jr., Esq., of Boston, *Secretaries.* The committee of arrangements appointed at the last Convention stated that they should report resolutions at the opening of the meeting the next morning, to which time the Convention was accordingly adjourned.

At 5 o'clock a tea-party was held in Hamilton Hall, furnished and

served by the ladies of the four Unitarian congregations in Salem. At 7 o'clock religious services were attended in Mechanic Hall, an apartment well suited, both from its size and its arrangements, for the purposes of public worship; where, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Stetson of Medford, a discourse was preached by Rev. Frederick A. Farley of Brooklyn, N. Y., from 1 Corinthians x. 15, on the propriety of denominational organization, when freed from the vices of sectarianism.

On Wednesday, October 20, the Convention assembled in the East church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg. The committee of arrangements proposed certain "rules of order, to facilitate the discussions," which were adopted. The same committee also presented a series of resolutions for the consideration of the Convention, which were read and then taken up singly for discussion. The first resolution was in these words: —

Resolved, That, assembling in this place, distinguished for more than two centuries by the principle of Congregational independence, we deem this a proper occasion for reaffirming our respect for that principle, our conviction of its happy bearing upon whatever is best in our New England institutions and character; and that we would seriously urge upon our churches the importance of quickening the religious life of the individual parish by every means that shall promote its freedom and order, its zeal and influence.

Having been supported by remarks from Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington, it was passed by a unanimous vote. The same unanimity marked the passage of all the resolutions. The second resolution called forth remarks from Rev. Messrs. Bellows of New York, Muzzey of Cambridge, and Stetson of Medford, Samuel St. John, Esq., of Newport, R. I., H. H. Fuller, Esq., and Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Rev. Mr. Very, and Rev. Dr. Flint of Salem, Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence, Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, and Rev. Mr. Whitman of Lexington, and was then accepted by the Convention: —

Resolved, That, congratulating ourselves upon the large measure of fraternal coöperation that we have enjoyed one with the other, upon the ground of a liberal faith, and determined to continue that coöperation, we cordially rejoice in the increasing manifestation of a congenial spirit in various Christian quarters, earnestly desire a true catholicity of communion, and upon the broad basis of the Gospel fervently hope to give and receive a Christian fellowship that shall be as cheering as it is enlarged.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. Mr. Thomas of Boston, a hymn was sung, and an adjournment took place to the afternoon.

At 2 o'clock the Convention again met, in the First church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Miles of Lowell. The third resolution reported by the committee having been read, remarks were made by Rev. Mr. Eliot of St. Louis, Mo., Mr. G. G. Channing of Boston, Samuel St. John, Esq., of Newport, R. I., Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston, Mr. A. B. Fuller of Cambridge, and Rev. Messrs. Hall of Providence, R. I., Gannett of Boston, and Hincks of London, England; after which the resolution was adopted: —

Resolved, That we deem Christianity as essentially diffusive in its spirit, and that, whilst we rejoice to unite with our fellow-Christians of every name in common labors of piety and charity, we are called to do an especial work in our own peculiar field, and are in duty bound to strive to

extend the principles that we hold dear, especially by circulating the writings of our gifted fathers, such as Channing and Ware, and by sustaining more generously than hitherto the Association that has been continued with such usefulness amongst us.

The fourth resolution having been read, gave rise to remarks from Rev. Messrs. Pierpont of Troy, N. Y., and Thomas of Boston, Moses Grant, Esq., of Boston, and Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, and was then passed : —

Resolved, That whilst we value Christianity for the peculiar authority and sanctions of its revelations, we regard these, in connection with all its doctrines and institutions, as the means of cherishing practical religion and establishing the kingdom of God among men ; and that the great indifference with which so large a portion of the Christian world treat the great social vices and oppressions of our time moves us to bear our testimony more earnestly than ever in behalf of the piety and humanity of the Gospel, and against the spirit of intemperance, warfare, slavery, general excess, and discord.

The Convention then, after prayer by Rev. Mr. Weiss of Watertown and the singing of a hymn, adjourned to the next morning, and the members repaired to Hamilton Hall, to partake again of the entertainment provided by their female friends. After enjoying the refreshment of tea and social converse, brief addresses were made by Hon. S. C. Phillips of Salem, Rev. Dr. Parkman of Boston, and Rev. Messrs. Stetson of Medford, Bellows of New York, and Osgood of Providence.

At 7 o'clock religious services were attended, as on the previous evening, at Mechanic Hall. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Gannett of Boston, and a sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Briggs of Plymouth, from Luke xii. 13, on the method of Jesus in reference to the errors and sins of the world, as applicable to our day.

On Thursday the Convention met, at 8½ o'clock, in the Barton Square church. Prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Hall of Providence. The fifth resolution prepared by the committee was read, and gave occasion to remarks from Rev. Messrs. Thomas of Boston, Lincoln of Fitchburg, Sanger of Dover, Bellows of New York, Palfrey of Barnstable, Muzzey of Cambridge, Stetson of Medford, and Osgood of Providence, and was then adopted : —

Resolved, That we regard the present pursuit of wealth and prominence of materialistic influences with solicitude, but not with despair ; and that, in this our nineteenth century, we deem it to be peculiarly the mission of Christians to lift the minds of the people above the thraldom of second causes to the worship of the great First Cause, alike by an enlarged spiritual faith and an earnest practical devotion.

The next resolution was passed without debate, viz. : —

Resolved, That Rev. Messrs. Hill of Worcester, Thompson of Salem, Ellis of Charlestown, H. B. Rogers, Esq., of Boston, and C. S. Daveis, Esq., of Portland, be the Committee of Arrangements for the next Autumnal Convention.

A resolution relating to the present war with Mexico, which had been offered by a member of the Convention at the close of the previous meeting, and was then referred to the committee of arrangements, was

now reported by them in an amended form, and was discussed by Samuel Greele, Esq., and Rev. Messrs. Gannett and Clarke of Boston; after which a motion to lay it on the table, as proposing action irrelevant to the purposes of the Convention, prevailed.

Some debate arising in regard to the place at which the next Convention should be held, it was voted that the selection of the place be left to the committee just chosen.

The seventh resolution proposed by the committee of arrangements having been read, its passage was advocated by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, and it was adopted: —

Resolved, That we regard the proceedings of this Convention as indicating and promoting a real harmony and efficient coöperation among the members, and throughout the Unitarian body.

The eighth resolution, being last in order, was read, and after appropriate remarks by Rev. Mr. Morison of Milton, was adopted by the members of the Convention, standing: —

Resolved, That, recognizing with tender and solemn interest the decease of lamented brethren, Rev. Dr Peabody and others, we deeply sympathize with their bereaved families, and express our gratitude to Divine Providence for the power of their lives, and the treasure of their memories.

Rev. Mr. Thompson of Salem then, in a brief speech, expressed his thanks to the Convention for their attendance and the pleasure the various meetings had given to the people of Salem.

Rev. Mr. Osgood of Providence offered a resolution, which he sustained by a few remarks, and which, after a slight amendment, was passed as follows: —

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention be tendered to the brethren and sisters of Salem for the elegant hospitality to which its members have been welcomed, and for the happy hours which they have passed together.

Prayer was then offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury, and the Convention was dissolved.

American Unitarian Association. — A special meeting of this body was held at the chapel in Bedford Street, Boston, October 21, 1847, "for the choice of a Secretary, and the transaction of such other business as might legally come before it." After prayer by Rev. Mr. Ellis of Charlestown, a letter was read from Rev. William G. Eliot, in which, while he expressed a deep interest in the Association and a strong sense of the importance of the office of Secretary, to which he had been elected at the last annual meeting, he declined the appointment, from a conviction of duty growing out of his peculiar relations to the church in St. Louis. Various propositions were then submitted, in regard to the course which should be taken for filling the office, and an adjournment became necessary to the afternoon; when, after considerable discussion, it was voted to proceed to ballot for an election among several candidates whose names had been put upon a nomination list. After two unsuccessful attempts the balloting was suspended, and it was voted, "that the whole subject of the election of Secretary be referred back to the Executive Committee, to take such action as they may think best." Some inquiries were then made, and discussion arose in regard to the salary

of the present incumbent of the office, which resulted in a vote, "that the Secretary *pro tem.* be paid at the rate of $2000 *per annum* up to the present time, and hereafter at the rate of $1500 *per annum* up to the time of the election of a Secretary and his acceptance of the office." The meeting was then adjourned *sine die*.

Ordinations and Installations. — Rev. William Rounseville Alger of Boston, who lately graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge, was ordained as Minister of the Mount Pleasant Congregational Society in Roxbury, Mass., September 8, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Lothrop of Boston, from 2 Corinthians ii. 16; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Alger of Marlborough; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Peabody of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Hale of Worcester; the Address to the Society, by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; and the other services, by Revs. Messrs. Huntington of Boston, Hall of Dorchester, and Thomas of Boston.

Rev. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a graduate of the last year from the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained as Minister of the First Religious Society in Newburyport, Mass., September 15, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Channing of Boston, from Revelation ii. 7; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Nichols of Portland, Me.; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Clarke of Boston; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Stone of Salem; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Fox of Boston; and the other services by Rev. Messrs. Clarke of Boston and Nichols of Saco, Me.

Rev. Frederick Newman Knapp of Walpole, N. H., a graduate of the last class at the Cambridge Divinity School, was ordained over the First Congregational Church and Society in Brookline, Mass., as Colleague Pastor with Rev. John Peirce, D. D., October 6, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Bellows of New York, from Romans vii. 22–25; the Ordaining Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; the Charge was given by Rev. Dr. Pierce of Brookline; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Hill of Waltham; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Willis of Walpole, N. H., Whitney of Brighton, and Higginson of Newburyport.

Rev. George S. Ball of Leominster, Mass., who recently graduated from the Meadville Theological School, was ordained over the Unitarian Church and Society in Ware, Mass., October 13, 1847. The Sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, from Luke xxiii. 54; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Mr. Wellington of Templeton; the Charge was given by Rev. Mr. Lincoln of Fitchburg; the Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. Mr. Nightingale of Cabotville; the Address to the People, by Rev. Mr. Greene of Brookfield; and the other services, by Rev. Messrs. Nute of Petersham, Loring of Andover, and Bond of Barre

---

OBITUARY.

Rev. Mark A. H. Niles died at Belfast, Me., August 17, 1847, aged 41 years.

Mr. Niles had just returned to his native State and the scenes of his early life; having been born at Deer Isle, from which place, however, he went in his youth to reside at Newburyport. Having finished his collegiate and professional studies, the former at Amherst, he accepted an appointment as Professor of Languages in Indiana College, and resided sometime at the West. Returning to New England, he became the pastor of a Trinitarian Congregational church in Marblehead, where he secured and continued to enjoy the affectionate and grateful regards of his people, till, in consequence of declining health, he left his pulpit, and became Agent of the American Seaman's Friend Society. While in this employment, his mind passed through a change of theological belief. He was soon after settled as minister of the Second Unitarian society in Lowell, and in that position, while discharging a faithful ministry, won the esteem of all who knew him. Having received an invitation to Belfast, which opened to him, as he thought, prospects of greater usefulness, he resigned his charge at Lowell, and was installed over the First Congregational church and society in Belfast, on the 11th of last August. He was at that time suffering from a slow fever, induced by fatigue, and was able to be present during only a part of the services of installation. No one, however, apprehended a fatal termination of his illness, nor did there seem to be any occasion for anxiety, till a few moments before his death, when he quietly sank into that rest which brought freedom and bliss to his spirit.

Mr. Niles was a man of great worth, which he had shown under circumstances that put his character to the test. Meek, but firm; faithful to his convictions, and faithful in his duties; a scholar, and a Christian; a warm friend, and a devoted minister; he merited the estimation in which he was held alike by those with whom his earlier and those with whom later religious associations connected him. The theological opinions which he had honestly held he relinquished as soon as he became convinced of their erroneous character, preserving, however, his mildness of temper and avoiding the asperity of feeling to which many are tempted by a transfer of their sectarian connections. His settlement at Belfast promised him a home of quiet labor with signal opportunities of usefulness, on which he was ready to enter with his whole heart. But it pleased Him whose love is wiser than our judgment to remove him at the moment when he seemed to have found the place which he could fill to the greatest advantage, and with the greatest satisfaction, on earth. Other services and more permanent enjoyment awaited him above; while to the congregation called to such a peculiar bereavement remain the consolations of trust in a perfect Providence, and to us all the counsels that may be drawn from such an unexpected destruction of mortal hopes. G.

Benjamin Merrill, LL. D., died at Salem, Mass., July 30, 1847, aged 65 years.

Mr. Merrill was a native of Conway, N. H., a graduate of Harvard College, and for nearly forty years an inhabitant of Salem, engaged

in a very large professional practice. As a man, universally esteemed for integrity of character and kindness of heart; as a lawyer, widely consulted and implicitly trusted; as a politician, acknowledged by all to be alike able and honest; as a friend, warmly beloved; and as a Christian, observed for the interest he took in religious institutions and the example he set of personal faithfulness; he has left a name honorable to himself, and dear, not only to the circle within whose affections he was cherished, but to the community to whom his death must long be an occasion of grief. Mr. Merrill repeatedly declined those situations in public life which his fellow-citizens were anxious to bestow on him, nor did he ever form those domestic connections which give the greatest depth to personal influence; yet few men made themselves more felt in society, or held more responsible trusts. His death was unexpected, and took place when he was sitting alone, occupied with his usual studies. G.

Hon. Joseph Gowing Kendall died at Worcester, Mass., October 2, 1847, aged 59 years.

A native of Leominster, Mass., a graduate of Harvard University, a tutor for five years in that institution, a practising lawyer in the place of his birth, a Senator of this Commonwealth, a Representative for two successive terms in Congress, and for fourteen years the clerk of the courts of the county of Worcester, in all these stations he discharged his duties with fidelity and won the confidence and affection of the community. Possessing a cultivated mind and refined intellectual tastes, he could fully appreciate whatever is beautiful in thought or expression. He had no great love for the dry forms of his profession, but was attracted more by productions of genius or the wonders and beauties of nature. He was especially interested in Biblical study, and welcomed with unabated delight the more expanded views which these studies never fail to impart. Gentlemanly in his deportment, unobtrusive in his manners, kind and considerate in his judgment, distrustful of himself, and gentle towards all men, his entire worth was concealed by his unaffected modesty; and was revealed only when that modesty could be no longer offended by human praise. But the trait which most distinguished Mr. Kendall was his unpretending goodness of heart, as seen in his readiness to do good wherever and whenever he might. While some men, who wish to do good, must do it in their own way, — as it falls in with their tastes, habits, and chosen pursuits, — he was disposed to do good in any way and by any means. It was not in his view a condescension, but a great privilege, the truest work of a responsible and accountable being. For many years he was a teacher and superintendent in the Sunday school of the society to which he belonged; faithful in his own religious culture, and always to be relied on for heart and hand in every project for social and religious improvement. At his death, besides making a liberal provision for a large circle of kindred and friends, as a testimony to his enlightened interest in the welfare of the community, he left a bequest of $1000 to the American Unitarian Association, and $4000 to the American Bible Society. He died after a short and painful illness, sustained by the religion which had guided him in life, peacefully, at last, passing away to the world for which his faith and devotion had been a constant preparation. H.

INDEX.

A.

Abolition of Capital Punishment, 355 - 373 — reply to argument from Old Testament against abolition, 356 — reasons for capital punishment have ceased, 360 — circumstantial evidence, 361 — insanity, ib. — peace of society, 365 — reform of offenders, 368 — argument from New Testament, 369 — verdicts uncertain, 371.

American Unitarian Association, 155, 469.

Andersen, H., Story, etc., by, 461.

Anniversaries, The, 153.

Audin, J. M. V. See *Calvin*.

Autumnal Convention, 465.

B.

Babbidge, C., Centennial Address by, 157.

Bacon, L. See *Slavery*.

Barnes, A. See *Slavery*.

Barrett, S. See *Relation*.

Bartol, C. A., Sermon by, 462.

Beckwith, G. C., Peace Manual by, 306.

Briggs, G. W., Sermons by, 309.

Brooks, C. See *Ornithology*.

Brown, B., on Ethereal Inhalation, 463.

Bushnell, H., on Christian Nurture, 435 - 451 — General argument of volume, 436 — harmony between Dr. Bushnell's views and those of Unitarians, 437 — sectarian views disappearing, 439 — principles of Christian nurture, 441 — development of the heart, ib — direct instruction, 444 — objection, ib — capacity of the soul for religion, 445 — victories of Christian truth, 447 — duty of parents, 449 — Bushnell's Defence, 450 — principle of unity, 451.

Butler, Mrs., Year of Consolation by, 302.

C.

Calvert, G. H., Poems by, 306.

Calvin, J , 161 - 186 — Audin's Life of, 161 — its style, 163 — the Protestant Reformation, 164 — Luther, 166 — compared with Calvin, 168 — Calvin's youth, 169 — Calvin at Geneva, 171 — his troubles, 172 — Perrin, 173 — Gruet, 175 — Castalio, 176 — Servetus's death, 177 — last days of Calvin, 178 — Farel, 179 — Beza, 180 — Calvin's character, 183 — defects, 185.

Cambridge Divinity School, 313.

Cary, T. C., Oration by, 310

Catacombs, The, and the Church of Rome, 276 - 288 — Maitland's work, 277 — opening of the Catacombs, ib. — Pagan and Christian monuments, 278 — Lapidarian Gallery, 281 — ancient Christian epitaphs, 282 — number of martyrs, 283 — modern church, 284 — English Resident's work, ib. — the Carnevale, 285 — Italian pulpit, 287.

Channing, W. E., Conversations in Rome by, 302.

Chapin, E. H., Hymns by, 143 — Sermon, 150.

Chapman, J. M. See *Hertz*.

Cheever, G. B. See *Lewis*.

Child. L. M., Memoirs, etc , by, 306.

Colleges, New England, 316

Conant, Prof, Defence of Hebrew Grammar, etc., by, 139.

Convention of Congregational Ministers, 158.

Crowell, W., Church Member's Manual by, 305.

D

Davis, A. J., Principles, etc., by, 452.

Dedications, 315.

Dewey, O , Discourses by, 296.

Dymond, J., Principles of Morality by, Mrs. Kirkland's edition, 459.

E.

Ecclesiastical Record, 152, 311, 465.

Edwards and the Revivalists, 373 - 394 — justification by faith, 374 — influences of Protestantism, 375 — apathy in New England at beginning of last century, ib — the "Great Awakening," 376 — Edwards's doctrine of Divine sovereignty, 378 — decrees, 380 — holiness, 381 — total depravity, 383 —

redemption, 386 — Whitefield, 387 — Methodist revivals, 389 — extravagance of itinerants, 390 — Orthodox doctrine of regeneration, 392 — man's relation to God, 393.
Evelyn, J. See *Godolphin.*

F.

Felton, C. C., Agamemnon of Æschylus by, 140.
Fosdick, D., Sermons by, 462.
Frothingham, N. L. See *Gray.*
Frothingham, O. B., Services at Ordination of, 150.
Fuller, R., and Wayland, correspondence on Slavery by. See *Slavery.*
Furness, W. H., Dudleian Lecture by, 31 — Derby Lecture and Sermon, 309.

G.

Gannett, E. S. See *Peabody.*
Gay, M., Statement, etc, by, 463.
Germany, Religious and Political, 394 - 427 — German ultraisms, 395 — confusion of parties, 397 — German Catholic Church, 398 — pontifical supremacy, 399 — efforts of Joseph II., 400 — failure, 402 — jurisdiction of Pope in Germany, ib. — German element, 403 — Ronge, and his coadjutors, 404 — theology, 406 — mission of German Catholics, 407 — Ullmann, 408 — banquets and speech-making 409 — Friends of Light, 410 — Evangelical church, 411 — Gazette, 413 — effects of intolerance, 414 — Pietism, 416 — constitutional question, 419 — king of Prussia, 421 — decree of 1841, 422 — political parties, 423 — constitutionalism, 424 — connection with religion, 426.
Godolphin, Mrs., Evelyn's Life of, 344 - 355 — how edited, 345 — Mrs. Godolphin's early life, 347 — connection with the court, 349 — marriage, 350 — character, 352 — death, 353.
[illegible] Inquiry, etc, by, 151.
[illegible] T., character and incidents in the life of, 248 - 253 — [illegible]ham's sermon on, 249.
[illegible] Discourses by, 304.
[illegible] J., Free Thoughts, etc., [illegible]
[illegible] 394 *et seqq.*
317 - 324 — Up[illegible]ions of, 317 — [illegible]e Love," 318 [illegible] 320 — persecution, 321 — occupations, 322 — death, 324.

H.

Haldane, R., Exposition of Romans by, 299.
Harvard Triennial, 463.
Harvard University, 315.
Hertz, H., King Rene's Daughter, by, Chapman's Translation, 460.
Hosmer, W. H. C., The Months by, 459.
Hymns, Universalist, 143.

I.

Intelligence, Religious, 152, 311, 465 — Literary, 315.

J.

Jamestown, Voyage of, 458.
Jenks, W., Bible Atlas, etc., by, 144.

K.

Kell, E., Discourse by, 308.
Kendall, J. G. See *Obituary.*
Kirkland, C. M. See *Dymond* and *Reid.*

L.

Lessons for Sunday Schools, Buffalo, 146.
Lewis, T., and Cheever, on capital punishment, 355 *et seqq.* See *Meditrium.*
Lord's Supper, Neglect of, 20 - 30 — its evils, 20 — causes, 23 — Catholic and Genevan views, ib. — Unitarian, 24 — open communion, 25 — remedies, 26 — minister's duty, 29.
Loyalists, The American, 118 - 137 — difficulties of the subject, 119 — Sabine's Sketches, 121 — Loyalists in Northern and Southern States, ib — tests of loyalty, 123 — confiscated estates, 124 — Proscribing Act, 127 — Worcester Bar, 128 — Boston physicians, ib. — Congregational ministers, 129 — longevity of Loyalists, 130 — number, 131 — names omitted by Sabine, 134 — names included, 136.
Lunt, W. P., Discourses by, 309.
Luther, Martin, 98 - 118 — Michelet's Life of, 98 — recent movements, 99 — D'Aubigné, 100 — corruptions of religion, 101 — Luther's Theses, 103 — his early life, 105 — preaching and labors at Wittemberg, 106 — contest with the Pope, 107 — goes to Worms, 108 — his latter years, 109 — character, 110 — progress of his opinions, 111 — charges of rudeness and violence,

Hackett, H. See Catacombs.
Hale, E. Address at Dedham by, 462.
Hall, S. P. Phi Beta Kappa Discourse by, 462.
Hall, W. Rev. See Obituary.
Harris, J. Discourse by, 462.
Hartford Theological School, 312.
Harvard, S. See Obituary.
Harvard, See Luther.
Hawes, D. Travels by, 199—203—Sinai, 201—Petra, 202.
Hebrew Conference, 157.
Hebrew and Evening Meditations, 146.
Henry, F. Treatise on Religion, etc. by, 312.
Henry, A. B. Discourse by, 462.
Henry, N.
Hope and Christianity, Parsons' Darkness Lecture on, 11—2—light of nature, 12—Christianity the interpreter of nature, 13—a determinate, 15—immortality the soul, 17—truths stored Christ natural, 18—his sufferings 19—reference to childhood, 20—miraculous part of Christianity 21—miracles natural, 45—Christianity the religion of nature, 48—time of Christ's coming, 49—Harvard College, 51.
Neander, A., Church History, 17—Torrey's Translation, 17—character of the translation, 17—extracts, &c. of same, 18—Emerson
Niles, M. A. H. Rev. 1—recommendation of Evidences, etc. 21.
Norton, A., Additions to Evidences, etc. 21.
Noyes, G. R. Translation of Job, 194—216—Jeremiah, 194—Psalms by, 194—Notes—Jeremiah, 215—Psalms, 216—Poetry, 216—Notes—Psalms, 216—Poetry, 216—use of Hebrew, 216—Psalms

redemption, 385 — Whitefield, 387 — Methodist revivals, 389 — extravagance of itinerants, 390 — Orthodox doctrine of regeneration, 392 — man's relation to God, 393.
Evelyn, J. See *Godolphin.*

F.

Felton, C. C., Agamemnon of Æschylus by, 140.
Fosdick, D., Sermons by, 462.
Frothingham, N. L. See *Gray.*
Frothingham, O. B., Services at Ordination of, 150.
Fuller, R., and Wayland, correspondence on Slavery by. See *Slavery.*
Furness, W. H., Dudleian Lecture by, 31 — Derby Lecture and Sermon, 309.

G.

Gannett, E. S. See *Peabody.*
Gay, M., Statement, etc., by, 463.
Germany, Religious and Political, 394 - 427 — German ultraisms, 395 — confusion of parties, 397 — German Catholic Church, 398 — pontifical supremacy, 399 — efforts of Joseph II., 400 — failure, 402 — jurisdiction of Pope in Germany, ib. — German element, 403 — Ronge and his coadjutors, 404 — theology, 406 — mission of German Catholics, 407 — Ullmann, 408 — banquets and speech-making 409 — Friends of Light, 410 — Evangelical church, 411 — Gazette, 413 — effects of intolerance, 414 — Pietism, 416 — constitutional question, 419 — king of Prussia, 421 — decree of 1841, 422 — political parties, 423 — constitutionalism, 424 — connection with religion, 426.
Godolphin, Mrs., Evelyn's Life of, 344 - 355 — how edited, 345 — Mrs. Godolphin's early life, 347 — connection with the court, 349 — marriage, 350 — character, 352 — defects, 353.
Goff, I. C., Inquiry, etc., by, 151.
Gray, Rev. T., character and incidents of the life of, 248 - 253 — Frothingham's sermon on, 249.
Green, J., Discourses by, 304.
Gregg, T. D., Free Thoughts, etc., by, 301.
Grossman, Dr., 394 *et seqq.*
Guyon, Madame, 317 - 324 — Upham's Life and Opinions of, 317 — her doctrine of "Pure Love," 318 — extenuating facts, 320 — persecution, 321 — occupations, 322 — death, 324.

H.

Haldane, R., Exposition of Romans by, 299.
Harvard Triennial, 463.
Harvard University, 315.
Hertz, H., King René's Daughter, by, Chapman's Translation, 460.
Hosmer, W. H. C., The Months by, 459.
Hymns, Universalist, 143.

I.

Intelligence, Religious, 152, 311, 465 — Literary, 315.

J.

Jamestown, Voyage of, 458.
Jenks, W., Bible Atlas, etc., by, 144.

K.

Kell, E., Discourse by, 308.
Kendall, J. G. See *Obituary.*
Kirkland, C. M. See *Dymond* and *Reid.*

L.

Lessons for Sunday Schools, Buffalo, 146.
Lewis, T., and Cheever, on capital punishment, 355 *et seqq.* See *Abolition.*
Lord's Supper, Neglect of, 20 - 30 — its evils, 20 — causes, 23 — Catholic and Genevan views, ib. — Unitarian, 24 — open communion, 25 — remedies, 26 — minister's duty, 29.
Loyalists, The American, 118 - 137 — difficulties of the subject, 119 — Sabine's Sketches, 121 — Loyalists in Northern and Southern States, ib — tests of loyalty, 123 — confiscated estates, 124 — Proscribing Act, 127 — Worcester Bar, 128 — Boston physicians, ib. - Congregational ministers, 129 — longevity of Loyalists, 130 — number, 131 — names omitted by Sabine, 134 — names included, 136.
Lunt, W. P., Discourses by, 309.
Luther, Martin, 98 - 118 — Michelet's Life of, 98 — recent movements, 99 — D'Aubigné, 100 — corruptions of religion, 101 — Luther's Theses, 103 — his early life, 105 — preaching and labors at Wittemberg, 106 — contest with the Pope, 107 — goes to Worms, 108 — his latter years, 109 — character, 110 — progress of his opinions, 111 — charges of rudeness and violence,

113 — superstition, ib. — treatment of mystics, 115 — his work, as a reformer, 117.

M.

Maitland, C. See *Catacombs.*
Mann, H., Annals of Dedham by, 306.
Marsh, G. P., Phi Beta Kappa Discourse by, 463.
Mary Anna, 461.
Mason, W., Rev. See *Obituary.*
May, S. J., Discourse by, 462.
Meadville Theological School, 312.
Merrill, B. See *Obituary.*
Michelet. See *Luther.*
Millard, D., Travels by, 199 - 203 — Siloam, 201 — Sinai, ib. — Petra, 202.
Ministerial Conference, 157.
Morning and Evening Meditations, 148.
Munch, F., Treatise on Religion, etc., by, 310.
Muzzey, A. B., Discourse by, 462.

N.

Nature and Christianity, Furness's Dudleian Lecture on, 31 - 52 — light of nature, 32 — Christianity the interpreter of nature, 33 — indestructible, 35 — immortality of the soul, 37 — truths uttered by Christ natural, 38 — his similitudes, 40 — reference to childhood, 42 — miraculous part of Christianity, 44 — miracles natural, 45 — Christianity the religion of nature, 47 — time of Christ's coming, 49 — Girard College, 51.
Neander, A., Church History of, Torrey's Translation, 427 - 435 — character of the translation, 427 — extracts, 428 *et seqq.*
Niles, M. A. H, Rev. See *Obituary.*
Norton A., Additions to Second Edition of Evidences, etc, by, 138.
Noyes, G. R., Translation of the Psalms by, 204 - 216 — Hebrew Poetry, 205 — Noyes's Introduction, 208 — use of Torrey's translation of De Wette, 209 — deviations from common version, 211 — manner of translation, 212 — criticism, 215. Noyes's Note in explanation, 289 - 297 — Torrey's translation, 290 — reply to criticism, 293. Noyes's Address before Alumni of the Theological School, on causes of the Decline of Interest in Critical Theology, 325 - 344 — how far the allegation just, 325 — qualifications, 327 — causes of decline, 328 — text of the New Testament, 329 — exegetical inquiries, 330 — social reform, ib. — inspiration, 331 — discovery of truth, ib. — results of Biblical criticism, 333 — anti-supernaturalism, 335 — metaphysical philosophy, 337 — formation and publication of opinions, 339 — Strauss, 341 — reason and faith, 343.

O.

Obituary, Rev. W. Mason, 160 — Rev. M. A. H. Niles, 471 — Benjamin Merrill, Esq., 471 — Hon. J. G. Kendall, 472.
Ordinations and Installations, 160, 314, 470.
Ornithology, Study of, 216 - 223 — Brooks's work, 216 — singing of birds, 217 — habits, 219 — influences of the country, 220.

P.

Pages from Ecclesiastical History of N. E., 151.
Parables of our Lord, 462.
Parker, T., Sermon by, 150.
Payson, E., and his Writings, 52 - 79 — Memoir of, 53 — early life, ib. — domestic attachments, 56 — conversion, 59 — habits in society, 61 — diary, 62 — preparation for the ministry, 63 — first preaching 65 — theology, 66 — importance of religious opinions, 67 — Payson's ordination, 70 — views of human nature, 71 — abundant labors, 73 — last illness, 75 — sermons, 77 — gifts as a preacher, 79.
Peabody, A. P., Sermon by, 150.
Peabody, W. B. O., life and character of, 269 - 276 — Gannett's Discourse on, 270 — college course, ib — settlement, ib. — ministerial and literary labors, 271 — mode of writing, 272 — preaching, 273 — afflictions, 275 — death, 276.
Pierce, J., Discourse at Brookline Jubilee by, 150.
Pray, L. G, History of Sunday Schools by, 145.
Prescott, W H., Conquest of Peru by, 253 - 269 — remarks of a personal nature, 253 — encouragement from Prescott's example, 255 — American literature, 257 — Prescott's Histories, 258 — national

bearing of, 259 — his style, 261 — other merits, 262 — Pedro de la Gasca, 263 — aboriginal races, 265 — Indians and Jews, 266.
Prophecy of the Santon, 458.

Q.

Quincy, J. See *Shaw.*

R.

Reid, H., on Woman, Kirkland's edition, 460.
Relation of Liberal Christianity to our Age and Country, Barrett's Address on, 187 - 199 — characteristics of the times, 188 — tendencies to liberal thought, 190 — union, 192 — reformatory movements, 193 — material agencies, 194 — intellectual, 195 — theories of education, 197.
Religious Aspect of the Times, 80 - 98 — evils of exaggeration, 80 — excitement and apathy, 82 — prosperity of the country, 83 — war, 84 — individual differences, 85 — religious manifestations, 86 — religion of the church, ib. — of the individual, 87 — of society, 88 — philanthropy, 90 — social evils, 91 — wrongs, 92 — literature, 94 — progress of right opinion, 95 — reform, 97.
Review, N. A., Selections from, 304.
Revivalists. See *Edwards.*
Richardson, J., Letter, etc., by, 151.
Rome, Pagan and Papal, English Resident's work on. See *Catacombs.*

S.

Sabine, L. See *Loyalists.*
Sadler, T , Silent Pastor by, 305.
Schmücker, S. S., on Capital Punishment, 369.
Sharp, D., Discourses by, 462.
Shaw, J , Journals of, and Quincy's Memoir, 455.
Sick Chamber, The, 461.
Slavery, Moral Wrong of, 223 - 247 — works on, 223 *et seqq* — duty of the Church, 225 — responsibility, 227 — Southern churches, 228 — Slavery and the Old Testament, 233 — the New, 234 — origin of slavery, 237 — slaves made in war, 238 — perpetuation of slavery, 241 — laws upholding it, 242 — duty imposed by the Christian religion, 245 — Fuller and Wayland, 247.
Southey, R., Life of Wesley by, 6.
Sparks, J., Library of American Biography by, 148.
Sprague, W. B., Discourse by, 462.
Stebbins, R. P., Sermon by, 310.
Steele, D., Moral Philosophy by, 148.
Stone, R. C., Sermon by, 309.
Sumner, C., Lecture by, 149
Sunday School Society, 158.
Sutton, H., Evangel of Love by, 456.

T.

Thom, J. H., Sermons by, 308.
Torrey, J. See *Neander.*
Tracts of A. U. A., 463.

U.

Uhlich, Pastor, 394 *et seqq.*
Unitarian Collation, 156.
Upham, T. C. See *Guyon.*

W.

Ware, J., Medical Discourses by, 463.
Wayland, F. See *Slavery.*
Wesley, J., 1 - 19 — character of eighteenth century, 1 — family of Wesley, 2 — John and Charles, 3 — John's preaching at Epworth, 5 — his biographies, ib. — studies, 6 — connection with the Moravians, 7 — public ministry, 9 — incessant labors, 11 — old age, ib. — death, 13 — vast power, ib. — method, 15 — character as a preacher, theologian, and disciplinarian, 16 — prospects of Methodism, 17 — lesson of Wesley's life, 19.
Wheaton, H., Phi Beta Kappa Discourse by, 395.
Whitehead, J., Life of Wesley by, 5.
Wilson, J., Scripture Proofs, etc., by, 147.
Woman, etc., by Mrs. Reid, 460.
Worcester, J. E., Dictionary by, 457.
Words of Christ, 147.

3405
x 20

3405
1220

This book should be returned to the Library on or before the last date stamped below.

A fine is incurred by retaining it beyond the specified time.

Please return promptly.

MAY 12 60H

AUG 11 '60H

JUN 8 62H

JUN 3 '76 H

CANCELLED

52/507

4402-19

FEB 17 '76 H

FEB 10

CANCELLED

CANCELLED

DEC 26 1979

DEC 21 1979

3 2044 105 217 244